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THE SOCIAL LIFE OF SCOTLAND

THE SOCIAL LIFE OF SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY
HENRY GREY GRAHAM

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SOCIAL LIFE OF SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE

PART I

I

THE end of 1688 saw the beginning of ecclesiastical revolution in Scotland; and the landing of William of Orange in December was the signal for Presbyterian insurrection.[1] In the bleak month, when there was bitter frost and deep snow, the country people in the south and west counties gathered in mobs, armed with stakes, pitchforks, and clubs, and attacked the manses where for twenty-six years the Episcopal ministers had lived. During the darkness of the night the voices of assailants demanding entrance rose above the din of smashing windows and battered doors. In many cases the "curates" were dragged from their homes amidst abuse, driven to the kirkyard with cries of "Strip the curate!" the black gown (hated badge of "black Prelacy") was torn from their shoulders; their furniture and their humble store of books were flung into fires kindled in the streets. They were forced to give up the church keys and the "poor-box"; and their families were turned out of doors, exposed to the keen winter blast,

[1] *Case of present afflicted Clergy truly represented*, London, 1690; *Account of the Persecution in the Church of Scotland in several Letters*, 1690; *Apology for the Clergy of Scotland* [by A. Monro, D.D.], 1691.

often without a kindly neighbour to shelter them for the night.

As if in grim irony to cast contempt upon Prelatic festivals, many of the most truculent rabblings were arranged for Christmas eve. In Ayrshire and Galloway—the chief seats of the Covenanters—gangs of men were formed and dispersed over several parishes so that they might begin their raids simultaneously, which they did without ruth or mercy.

No doubt many stories told of these scenes were grossly exaggerated in the telling, and Episcopal ministers were not likely to minimise their grievances, their sufferings, or their merits, and sometimes magnified the rudeness of a few men, women, and children into tumultuous assaults of infuriated crowds.[1] But the treatment to which many were subjected—

[1] It is instructive, though perplexing, to compare the contradictory versions of these rabbling scenes. The Episcopal story relates of Mr. Gabriel Russell, minister of Govan, that "some of his parishioners, to several of whom he had done kindness, beat his wife, daughter, and himself (so inhumanly that it had almost cost him his life), carried off the poor-box and other utensils from the church, and threatened him with worse treatment if he would preach any more."—*Account of Recent Persecution.* Here is the Presbyterian version as "attested by the subscription of nine persons who were present" [names follow]:—"There being great confusion like to be in the country, they feared the church goods might be carried away, they went peaceably and demanded them, offering sufficient security that they would be safely kept and restored to them who should be concerned. This Mr. Russell and his wife (who were both drunk, as they often used to be) not only refused, but gave the men very opprobrious and provoking language; they essaying to lift the box in which the poor-money was kept, Mr. Russell setting his foot upon it, and his wife sitting down upon it, they with tenderness lifted her up and carried away the box. Mrs. Russell roared, and beat them with hands and feet, but they utterly deny that any of them did either beat him or his wife. Yea, ere they parted from his house, they asked if anything more was wanting, and they could be charged with nothing."—*Second Vindication*, Edin. 1691. Here is again conflicting evidence:—"Mr. Brown, minister of Kells, in Galloway, residing at Newtown, whom, in a storm of frost and snow, they carried to the market-place about 4 o'clock in the morning, tyed him to a cart with his face to the weather, when he had died if a poor woman had not cast clothes on him": thus the *Account of Recent Persecution.* "The truth of this story is that Mr. Brown, being beastly drunk at night, after a little sleep went to his house at a distance from that town, and returning in the morning, betimes was taken by the guard for a spy . . . and on these grounds the parson not being firm they bound him." [This story is duly attested.] "It is hard to justify this usage of a man. But it is harder to lay the indiscretion of souldiers to the Presbyterians": thus the *Second Vindication*, p. 33.

leaving them "in a state of desolation, not knowing where to lay their heads or have bread for their families"[1]—was rough and brutal at the hands of the embittered peasantry.

More than two hundred ministers were "outed" with more or less violence, while others, foreseeing the coming storm, and preparing for its blasts, in terror withdrew from their manses,—only, however, to be afterwards "deprived," with almost a cynical stroke of humour, "for deserting their charges."

What the people left undone Parliament and the General Assembly tried to complete. Proclamation was made that all ministers of the Gospel should publicly pray for King William and Queen Mary, under pain of forfeiture of their livings in the event of their refusal. This edict was ordered to be read from every pulpit on Whitsunday 1689. For not complying with this command many were expelled from their livings in spite of every excuse they gave. In vain they pleaded that they could not pray for William and Mary as king and queen, because they were not yet crowned; in vain others protested that the fateful proclamation did not reach their houses till days after the day appointed for its being read, or that they were away from home when it arrived.[2]

Of the Presbyterian clergy who had been ejected from their parishes in 1662 when Episcopacy was established, there were about sixty surviving. These old men were now restored to their old charges, and in the first General Assembly which met in 1690 they were the leaders and the oracles, although there were associated with them seventy-six ministers who had been "indulged" to preach in 1687, and forty-three elders.[3] To these men were given by Parliament powers which they were not fit to wield with fairness and tenderness. They were authorised "to try and purge out all inefficient and scandalous and erroneous ministers by due course of ecclesias-

[1] *Case of Afflicted Clergy*, p. 88 [by George Garden, D.D., Episcopal minister afterwards deposed for Bourignianism]. It is a phraseological peculiarity of these tracts that the one side speaks of its "afflicted clergy," the other of its "suffering ministers."

[2] *Case of Afflicted Clergy: Account of Recent Persecution.*

[3] *Second Vindication of Church of Scotland: being an Answer to Five Pamphlets.* By Gilbert Rule, D.D., Edin. 1691.

tical process and censure." "What is this," protested the Duke of Hamilton,[1] "but instead of fourteen bishops, to give unlimited power to fifty or sixty Presbyterian ones, from whom the Episcopal clergy can expect little justice or mercy?" His Grace's fears were amply justified, for this Presbyterian inquisition gave scope for every form of petty persecution and parochial malice. Every scandal however groundless, every rumour however vague, every offence however trivial, as well as every atrocious charge however preposterous, was brought forward and greedily listened to by the credulous Commission of elders and ministers who sat in judgment on the Episcopal incumbent, against whom the tongue of aggrieved parishioners was at last let loose. To have neglected family worship, to have allowed "unclean" persons to take communion, to have permitted persons to bring in kail on the Lord's Day, to have spoken of the Solemn League and Covenant as a "bond of rebellion," to have allowed Quakers to worship undisturbed, to have recommended superstitious and erroneous books such as the *Whole Duty of Man*, to have played cards, to have been gross drunkards and shameful swearers—all these were among the multifarious accusations for the curates to meet, which it was useless to deny and hopeless to confute. It was alike a crime in the people's eyes to have opposed the Confession of Faith and to have whistled on the Sabbath, to have played bowls on a week day and prayed for King James on the Sunday. The gravest charges were based on feeblest evidence; and the stereotyped accusations of drunkenness, immorality, cursing, and sacrilege, rouse suspicions that the offences of the curate were far less certain than his offensiveness to the people.[2] At the same time, it is abundantly clear that there were many cases of scandalous living, of moral unfitness and spiritual incapacity, and that many posed as martyrs who deserved the

[1] *Historical Relation of late General Assembly*, 1690; *Presbyterian Inquisition* [by A. Monro, D.D.], p. 30.

[2] In Drymen the charges are—"promiscuous invitations to the Lord's table, violence to Presbyterian sufferers; neglecting of family worship, profaning the Lord's day."—Guthrie-Smith's *Strathendrick*, p. 57. In Luss the charges are — "drunkenness, swearing, Sabbath-breaking, connivance at sacrilege (*i.e.*, admitting unworthy persons to communion), negligence."—*Ibid.* p. 108.

short shrift they got.[1] By this process of "purging" a further "outing" of about three hundred incumbents was effected.

It was at last found necessary to check the untempered and the ill-tempered zeal of the purgers, and in 1694 the Parliament imposed upon the Church a policy of toleration, and compelled the General Assembly to maintain in their livings and admit to a share in the government all Episcopalian ministers who would take the oath of allegiance, subscribe to the Confession of Faith, and conform to Presbyterian rule. This Act with sulky submission was received by the Assembly, reluctant to receive into their ranks men tainted with Prelacy and alien to the Covenant, and out of harmony with their body and their spirit. It might be imagined that after all this rabbling, inquisition, and purging, there would be few curates left to admit into the Presbyterian community or to continue in their parishes. But that was not the case. Of the 900 clergy only 600 were ousted from their posts, and there were about 300 Episcopal incumbents who were left undisplaced, wherever they had won the affection of the people or the favour of the gentry—for there were large districts in the East and Midland where the covenanting spirit had never been strong, and in the North, where it had never been even known. Many incumbents who never qualified by taking oath to Government or conforming to Presbytery were left undisturbed in their manses and churches, partly from inability to dislodge them, partly from lack of men to substitute for them.

Twenty years after Presbytery was re-established as the Church of Scotland no fewer than 165 Episcopal ministers occupied the parish kirks.[2] In adjacent parishes lived in quietness, if not in amity, Episcopal and Presbyterian

[1] Here is the Presbyterian version of a case where the Episcopalians represented the 'outed" minister as a "martyr": Mr. Ramsay, minister of Stranraer, was put out of his place by the Synod of Wigton on these grounds: frequent drunkenness on the Sabbath day, proved by the oaths of Bailie Vans and Andrew M'Kerrie. Beating his wife on the Sabbath before he went to preach, sworn of Andrew M'Kerrie and Robert Gordon. The said Robert Gordon's wife deponed that she saw Mrs. Ramsay's nose bleeding. Frequent swearing, proved by the oaths of Provost Rae, Bailie Vans, and Robert Gordon. —*Second Vindication*, p. 136.

[2] Defoe's *Hist. of Church of Scotland*, 1717.

ministers; even in the same church the colleagues might be of opposite persuasions, as in Dunfermline and Haddington, where up to 1724 the Episcopal minister had his forenoon service with the Lord's prayer, doxology, and apostles' creed, and the Presbyterian colleague in the afternoon held his service with these obnoxious prelatic superfluities omitted.

North of the Tay, where the covenanting spirit and Whiggism had never spread, the people clung to their old ministers and their old regime, and a large proportion of these ministers neither conformed nor took oath of allegiance, remaining defiant and triumphant, living in the manses and living on the stipends.[1] In vain the General Assembly sent reluctant relays of Lowland ministers to inhospitable regions of Aberdeenshire, Caithness, and Banff, by perilous roads, on sorry nags, to seek a night's shelter in hovels that acted as hostelries.[2] When they appeared on Sunday to preach, the people would not listen to those "twenty merk men," as they were nicknamed from their pay, and to a congregation of tombstones in the kirkyard they had to speak, while the people were worshipping with the curate inside the kirk. The Presbyterian minister appointed to the charge was often met by crowds of infuriated country folk, who beat him with sticks and forced him to make a precipitous retreat. The experiences of the unhappy presentee to Dingwall in 1704[3] form a fair sample of the sufferings of many brethren. On Sunday morning the reverend gentleman looked out of the window of a deserted manse and saw a mob on evil purpose bent; the ringleaders came with "battons, stones, and clods," surrounded the house, and fastened his chamber door with nails. On his opening the window to remonstrate with his assailants he was greeted with a shower of stones. At last, having made his escape,

[1] In 1690 there was only one Presbyterian minister in the Synod of Aberdeen and Banff, containing 100 parishes. In 1694 there were eight, in 1697 there were fifteen. Lord's supper not administered in Aberdeen till 1704 by Presbyterian clergy.—Spalding *Miscellanies*, ii. 72.

[2] The ministers of Paisley Presbytery appointed for this hated task, in 1697, were then engrossed with the trial of the Renfrewshire witches, and protested they cannot get North because of the sad condition of the country owing to diabolical manifestations—preferring to contend with the devil in Paisley rather than with the schismatics in Forfar.—Lees' *Paisley Abbey*, p. 193.

[3] *Hist. of Church of Ross*, by Rev. J. Craven, p. 7.

and having begun service in the church, he was interrupted by the Episcopal rabble—the father of the deceased curate at the head — and finally, nearly "choked and throttled," he was carried off amid the uproar of the mob, who cried, "King Willie is dead and our King is alive!" Hundreds from other parishes joined the rioters, whom the Privy Council proclaimed rebels and their goods forfeit; but not till 1716 did a Presbyterian preach in peace in Dingwall.[1] In parish after parish in the North the successor of the dead or deprived Episcopal incumbent was refused access to his church, assaulted, and forced to flee for his life.[2]

Amid such circumstances it is not surprising that, though the vacant posts were many, the candidates were few. In the Synod of Moray out of forty-nine parishes only one curate conformed, the rest it was impossible to dislodge; or if dislodged, all the people went to some hill or hut, where the "meeting-house keeper" held service, baptized, and married in security and triumph, and many persons seeking to escape discipline for offences found easy admittance into the Episcopalian fold. Another great difficulty arose in filling charges in the Highlands, from there being such a scarcity of ministers or students who could speak Gaelic, and, as there were often none to be

[1] Craven's *Hist. of Church in Ross*, p. 68. The presentee to Kilmuir reports to the General Assembly, how on his ordination Sunday he was surprised by an ambush of parishioners with blackened faces, armed with batons; that he had his hat knocked off and torn to pieces, his head badly cut; that he was dragged by the cravat till nearly choked, his "suit of fine cloth torn to shreds, his under coat, black coat, and vest, with his linens, stolen from his pocket," and after "terrible effusion of blood and casting cold water on his wounds, he was carried to the top of a hill," and "thought his last hour had come." Meanwhile the Episcopal preacher of the district looked on, and often preached to the mob, who were decked in fragments of the presentee's garments.—Scott's *Fasti Eccles.* v. 283. Minister of Lochcarron, in 1726, obliged to carry firearms to protect himself from his parishioners.—*Ibid.* v. 98.

[2] The minutes of the Dunblane Presbytery give a vivid idea of the difficulties of the times—of parishes "planted" with Presbyterian ministers to which there came Episcopal "intruders" and "vagrant Episcopal ministers," who set up "meeting-houses" in spite of "letters of horning"; of parishes, such as Aberfoyle, where a curate installed himself and remained in possession till his death in 1732; and Balquhidder, where the minister sent by the Presbytery finds that a curate had entered the pulpit at six on the Sabbath morning: supported by Lord Tullibardine, this preacher retained manse, church, and living till 1712.

found, the Episcopal Gaelic minister kept hold of the parish and the people.[1]

In the Lowlands another state of matters existed. There the ministers "outed" were so many that there was a dearth of Presbyterian clergy to take their places. In Whig counties there was a clean sweep of the old incumbents, and large districts in Galloway were left without a pastor, and the people depended on the "praying associations" of the godly who had fostered fanaticism and phariseeism in the covenanting days. These very districts were longest of being "planted" with ministers, for the soil was barren, the land consisted of wild moors or hills, and the people were contentious; so that men who had a choice of many livings naturally preferred the Lothians, where the parishes were richer and the people were docile. In some large Presbyteries, after the rabbling, only one or two ministers remained by conforming to the new establishment, and over a distance of forty miles for years the Sabbath passed without a service, and the church bells were never rung.[2] No wonder when ministers were appointed at last, they found the manses uninhabitable and the kirks in ruins.

When Presbytery was re-established in the land, to fill 900 charges there were sixty aged survivors of those who had been turned out of their parishes in 1662, who were fondly termed the "antediluvians," from their having lived before the "flood" of Prelacy; there were about eighty indulged ministers who had been allowed since 1687 to preach; and about forty men who came from Ireland and found Scottish livings.[3] Fortunately, to add to this ragged regiment there was a considerable number of Episcopal ministers with easy principles who conformed to the new rule,[4] and there were also

[1] Great difficulty in filling empty kirks arose from scarcity of young men who knew the Irish (Gaelic). From the impossibility of getting a Gaelic minister Callander was vacant for twenty years. In 1696 the Dunblane Presbytery writes to the Edinburgh Professor of Divinity for preachers, and is told that there is none who knows Highland language. Next year it is told the Argyll Synod has no Gaelic probationers to spare.—*Presby. Records.*

[2] Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, p. 407.

[3] In 1707—Presbyterian ministers, 719; Episcopalian ministers in parishes, 16; intruding Episcopalians in vacant parishes, 79.

[4] In the Presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar, containing thirty parishes, only five "curates" conformed; in Presbytery of Duns, five conformed. In

Presbyterians who had in the days of persecution got a furtive education, and were licensed or ordained by fugitive ministers in Scotland or dissenting divines in England, and elsewhere; while men who had been forced from their college studies to find a livelihood in trades in the "killing days" were now licensed, after giving evidence of learning, chiefly consisting of being mighty in the Scriptures.[1]

What was the character of the expelled clergy it is not easy to determine. If we listen to Presbyterian pamphleteers we learn that as a body they were incapable, negligent, ignorant, and scandalous in life. If we listen to Episcopalian pamphleteers we learn that "there was no more unblamable company of men upon the earth," nor, in education, were there "five of them in the whole nation who could not undergo the severest examination."[2] If that was the case, it may be wondered what had become of the uncouth, illiterate young men who in 1662 had been collected from farms and trades to fill the pulpits when they became Episcopalian, whom Bishop Burnet contemptuously describes[3] as "the refuse of the northern parts"—men whose promotion to livings, before they had completed their studies, caused the Aberdeenshire laird to exclaim indignantly, "If the bishops go on at this rate we will not

Presbytery of Auchterarder, only one conforming minister left.—Lawson's *Hist.*, p. 134; Skinner's *Eccles. History*, ii. 558.

[1] It was in the south-west counties that Episcopalian curates had least hold. In Kilmarnock, with a population of 2500, the incumbent had a congregation of twelve. There is something very pathetic in the spectacle of Mr. Andrew Symson holding out at Kirkinner with a flock of three, dwindling down to one. At last, bereft of the solitary adherent—the laird of Baldoon, who died after a fall from his horse—the deserted incumbent breaks into elegaic grief, in measure as broken as his heart:—

"He, he alone was my parishioners,
Yea, and my constant hearers, O! that I
Had power to eternize his memorie."

—Symson's *Descrip. of Galloway*, 1823, p. vii. Symson became a printer.

[2] *Presbyterian Inquisition*, 1690.

[3] "They were the worst preachers that I ever heard. Many of them were ignorant to a reproach. They were a disgrace to their order, and were indeed the dregs and refuse of the northern parts. Those of them who rose above contempt and scandal were of such violent temper that they were as much hated as the others were despised."—Burnet's *History of his Times*, i. 158. It is true that this contemptuous description refers to those called in from all quarters to fill the places from which Presbyterian ministers were ousted in 1662. But as these illiterates were young, many of these were in country parishes in 1688.

have a lad to herd our cows." On the whole we may conclude that though many of them were estimable, and not a few of the younger generation were capable and educated men, the origin of the others was not such as to allow of learning or culture. These luckless men, thrust from their charges, were obliged to seek employment as they could: some to become chaplains or "governors" in lairds' and noblemen's households, treated with not too much respect, and paid mean wages; some obliged to take to a craft or a shop; the most fortunate to find livings in England; the least fortunate, in their dire extremity,[1] forced at times to beg alms from the poor-box, and glad to get a little money or clothing from the gentry.[2] The few who went about ministering to Episcopal congregations in country districts in huts or barns, and were styled contemptuously "meeting-house keepers," "intruding ministers," or "vagrant preachers," had a precarious existence on their scanty income from their poor flocks.

The Presbyterian ministers who came to reign in their stead had more marked characteristics—amongst which moderation cannot be numbered. The old men, during their field-life and wanderings amongst bog mosses and moorland glens, had increased, not in learning but in fanaticism. The younger men—save the few who had studied in Holland—had had no opportunity for study, and usually felt that to know the Lord's Word was worth all the pagan learning of the world. Though some were men of good sense and good scholarship, and several of good birth, the great majority were rude in mind and manners, grimly religious and bigoted in spirit. The fire of persecution has often refined the character, purging the dross, and leaving the nature purer, nobler than before. But a persecution such as the Presbyterians had of late years undergone, which was not fiery, but merely vexatious and irritating, does not

[1] In 1707 there was presented a petition from "the ministers of the Episcopal perswasion" to the Corporation of Baxters in Edinburgh begging alms; "for they and their families are at present in great wants and necessities that crave the boweles of compassion of all good Christians." The Baxterian "boweles" of compassion being touched, they give £24 Scots—*i.e.*, £2.—P. 29, Dunlop's *Anent Old Edinburgh.*

[2] Kirk-Session records in early part of century contain many entries of relief given to Episcopal ministers.—Beveridge's *Culross*, ii. 26; *Parish of Shotts*, *Stat. Acct. Scot.* Inverarity; *Accompt Books of Foulis of Ravelston.*

develop the higher qualities or polish the soul to finer graces. It had neither the physical trial which makes heroes, nor the spiritual endurance which forms saints. To be too long in opposition engenders what Bishop Burnet charges them with—"a tangled scrupulosity," a habit of magnifying little points of difference into questions of vital importance. When such men, with the self-conscious glow of martyrdom, emerge from obscurity to publicity, and exchange weary contumely and defeat for truculent victory, they are unable to wield their power with moderation, for they mistake fanaticism for earnestness, and in pious hostility to opponents "confound their antipathies with their duties."

Such was the prevailing temper of the ministers at the beginning and during the first quarter of the eighteenth century; although they were earnest and honest men, and probably deserving the character given to them in 1707 by Professor Wodrow,[1] himself one of the most benign and moderate of ministers: "There never was such a set of pious, painful, and diligent ministers in Scotland as at the Liberty [that is, the Revolution] and since."

II

In the incessant war of pamphlets which was maintained for a generation by tracts—"replies," "rejoinders," "letters," "plain dealings," "vindications," "apologies," "exposures," from either side—there is a spirit of intense virulence. "Foul calumnies," "gross imposters," "base lyar," "false witness," are the sort of epithets which besprinkle every page. So charged with venom, so abounding in evident misrepresentation, are the accusations of Presbyterian and Episcopalian alike, that it is well-nigh impossible to clear the way to truth amidst the jungle of reproaches, recriminations, charges, and countercharges. May we with Lord Macaulay term the pamphleteers "habitual liars"? Behind the shield of anonymity they hurled their invectives. Deprived Episcopalians complained that the others spoke of them as "incumbents," "black gowns," "intruders," "meeting-house keepers," and their places for worship as "schismatical

[1] *Life of Professor Jas. Wodrow*, p. 173.

meeting-houses." The "Presbyterians on their side complained that they were styled preachers," that in the North they were spoken of as "Cameronians," and the very children were taught to call after them "Cammie!" "Cammie!"[1] as they passed along the road. Episcopalians said that the new ministers in their sermons proclaimed that "the gospel had not been preached for twenty-six years," and that they debarred from the communion those who attended Prelatic ordinances. On the other hand, some Presbyterians replied that this charge was a lie; and others said, though the charge was true it was amply justifiable.[2] They are weary, though curious, reading, those old tractates, breathing out cruelty, in their rough paper and miserable type, yellow with age and peat smoke; irreconcilable in feeling, yet united in cynical indifference by the binder's stitcher; entitled "Collection of Pamphlets," and bound together in peaceful incongruity, not by the bonds of Christian charity, but by the boards of calf-skin.[3]

After all, the difference between the Presbyterian and the Episcopalian services was curiously slight. While the Presbyterians made the precentor or reader sing a psalm before the minister appeared, the Episcopalians had made him read chapters from Scripture for the edification of the assembling people. This point was a subject of bitter controversy, the Prelatists taunting their opponents with neglecting entirely to read Scripture in church, except the passage on which the lecture was given, as if, like Papists, they distrusted the Scriptures to the people; and the ministers supporting their practice by triumphantly quoting Nehemiah viii., where Ezra

[1] *Plain Dealing with Presbyterians*, 1702.

[2] *Vindication of Church of Scotland*, 1702.

[3] The animosity to curates was virulently expressed by Fraser of Brea in *Lawfulness and Duty of Separation from Corrupt Ministers*, 1744, published, forty years after it was written, by the Seceders to justify their separation from the corrupt Establishment: "O! to see what contempt they subject the ordinances of Christ unto, and how men *scunner* and *egg* at their meat being conveyed to them through such vessels. I know the curates' preaching hath had more influence on the damnation of poor souls than to converting of them. They are the most scandalous haters of godliness, persecutors, mockers, covetous, drunkards or tiplers, sensual and ignorant."—P. 50. Such words prove rather the temper of the "antediluvians" than the character of the "curates."

reads the law, but also explains it.[1] The Episcopalian said the Lord's prayer; the other omitted it as smacking of a Liturgy, and encouraging the belief in magical power of special words. The Episcopalian curate concluded chapter and sermon with a doxology, either said or sung, which the other discountenanced as offensive. At baptism the Episcopalian made the father repeat the Apostles' creed, while the others made him express belief in the Confession of Faith.[2]

There were even fewer differences in worship between the two hostile persuasions. The prayers of both were extempore —the liturgy being only used by a few curates. At communion the people of both persuasions sat on the forms at the long table,[3] the elements being handed round from person to person. "Tickets," or tokens,[4] were given out to communicants, and the tables were "fenced," debarring the unworthy. The Episcopalians kept no great Church festivals, except occasionally Christmas, although the Lord's Supper was in the North often arranged to be celebrated at Easter or Pentecost.[5] Nor in ecclesiastical polity could greater difference be observed. The Episcopalians, as well as their rivals, had their Presbyteries, their Synods (in which a bishop was moderator), their Kirk-Sessions, with the espionage of elders, the inquisitions into scandal, the discipline for offences, the

[1] The apologists for the ministers give the lie direct to charge of reading no Scripture except as a text.—*Toleration's Fence Removed*, 1703; [Anderson's] *Curate Calder Whipt*, by T. T., 1712.

[2] Morer's *Short Account*, p. 60; Cramond's *Presbytery of Fordyce*, p. 52.

[3] "Sitting always the posture at communion in Scotland by the testimony of the Episcopalians themselves since the dawn of the Reformation, except when attempts were made to introduce kneeling by the Synod of Perth."—P. 48, *Answer to Dialogue between Curate and Countryman examined*, 1712.

[4] G. Smith's *Strathendrick*, p. 10; *Northern Notes and Queries*, vii. 178.

[5] Cramond's *Church and Churchyard of Ordiquill*, p. 17; *Church of Boyndie*, pp. 17-19. "Parochial records contain no allusion to the keeping of Christmas, Easter, or any other festival (except those occasionally enjoined by authority)." —*Stat. Act. Scot.* ii., Langside, Aberdeenshire. "I plainly say that the commemoration of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of the Lord and Descent of the Holy Spirit, as well as administration of the Lord's Supper to a dying Christian, was as little known in the time of Episcopacy as in time of Presbytery, save that on Christmas Day in particular places, and under the prelate's nose, a sermon was preached, and then feasting and drinking to excess in many places was much in vogue."—*Toleration's Fence Removed*, Edin. 1703.

harshness and indiscrimination of punishment alike for a petty breach of the Sabbath and a flagrant violation of the moral law. To attribute to Presbyterian rule and zeal all the Sabbath rigor, the austerity and narrowness of Scottish religion, is to misread Scots Church history and to leave unread every Kirk-Session record. English travellers after the Revolution, when the two communions were in deadly hostility, could not comprehend why "two parties should so much disagree among themselves, when they appear to the world like brothers."[1] When we find the peasantry in the North so persistent in their loyalty to the incumbents it could not arise from any attachment to a particular form of service or government, for they were practically the same, but from dislike of the covenanting ways of the Lowlands and personal liking for their pastors. Therefore when the incumbents died out the Episcopacy of the people died with them in many quarters, where it was not bound up with Jacobitism.

III

During the first half of the century the ministers of country parishes lived in small, low-roofed or heather-thatched manses, with brew-house on one side and stable and byre at the other, facing a dunghill which stood amongst rubbish and nettles.[2] The windows, about two or three feet high and eighteen inches broad, were usually only half glazed—the lower part made of wooden panels, for glass then was precious—and there peered

[1] Morer's *Short Account of Scotland*, p. 61, 1702.

[2] Edgar's *Old Church Life*, i. 40; *Parish Life in North*, by Sage, Wick, 1889. The thatched manse of Balmaghie in 1727, when occupied by the turbulent Macmillan, had five rooms and a kitchen. On ground-floor were kitchen and two chief rooms (one being the minister's study). Above were two bedrooms and a closet between, approached by a narrow wooden stair.—Reid's *Cameronian Apostle*, p. 49. On Nov. 3, 1710, when a visitation of Keir manse was made, the masons and wrights, after being put on solemn oath, gave estimate for a manse, 36 feet in length within the walls and 14 feet wide and 15 feet high in the side walls, to make two square rooms in the low story, to make other two square rooms in the second story, with suitable garrets, a cellar below the stair for the lower story, and a closet above it in the second story, with flooring, wooden partitions for rooms, doors, etc., and offices, to cost 1400 merks with the old materials.—*Penpont Presby. Records.*

in a meagre light through walls from four to five feet thick. Inside, the front door, which a tall man must stoop to enter, led to a dark passage or lobby with earthen or wooden floor, a "laigh chamber or hall" on one side, a dark, earth-floored kitchen at the other, and one small bedroom. Up the creaky, narrow staircase were two bedrooms (called "fire-rooms" from possessing the luxury of a hearth), and a closet or study—the doors leading into each other, as there was no space for a passage. If the family was too large for this small accommodation the space between the ceiling and the rafters which supported the straw or heather thatch—containing a dense population of rats—was fitted up into a hearthless garret for the children to sleep in. The little low-ceiled room set apart as the minister's "closet," to which he retired for prayer or for study, contained his meagre library—folios and quartos of *Turretini Opera*, and many a work of Dutch Divinity, in Latin which was clumsy and ponderous as the barges on Dutch canals, with Weem's *Christian Synagogue*, and the invaluable Poole's *Annotations*. The manse walls presented a rough plastered surface inside the rooms, and between the chambers were partitions of deal boards. In this cramped abode everyone was crowded, and the air of rooms was dense from want of ventilation from windows that did not open; though there were draughts in the dwelling from doors that did not fit, and comfortless passages through which the cold winds blew. The noise of children from the rooms, with their wooden divisions, and the bustle of household work—spinning, brewing, washing, baking, grinding the "knockit bear"—often drove distracted the poor minister in the throes of composing two sermons and a lecture every week in the retirement of his little "book-room."[1]

The stipends were not so insufficient at the beginning of the century as they became with dearer living in after years. In fact, in point of income it was said a clergyman in a parish

[1] An enthusiast for "enclosing" fields insidiously pleads thus with ministers to adopt the practice. "The clergy should be the quickest to begin enclosing, for sure when the weather is fair their little manses are not so fit for their studies as these delightful enclosures. Under a hedge they don't hear, nor are disturbed nor diverted by children crying, the mistress and servants speaking aloud about their domestick affairs, from which noise no room is remote enough." —*Essay on Ways and Means of Enclosing, Fallowing, etc.*, 1729.

stood second, and richer than many of the lairds.[1] The average income was £40, sometimes as low as £20 or £25, which was paid in kind, of so many bolls of oats, pease, barley,—wheat was not grown,—and all this was stored in the girnal or granary attached to the manse, and sold as occasion required for the needs of the household. This stipend was sent by the heritors on horseback,[2] each horse conveying on its back the load of one boll, so that to transmit on the ill-made roads eight bolls of meal required a line of eight horses and four men to lead them. The clothing of the family consisted of stuff or plaiding, spun by the wife and her maids, woven by the village weaver, and made up into garments by the travelling tailor, who came periodically with his apprentices, and worked for 2d. a day and his broth or porridge. Shoes for himself or his wife cost 3s. a pair; and as his sons went barefooted to school the expense of the shoemaker was not large. The minister himself had no professional dress, and like the lairds wore coloured—usually gray—garments of coarse homespun stuff;[3] and even in the pulpit he had coloured cloak and waistcoat and lay neck-cloth. In still later times, even in 1750, though attired in black on Sunday, on the other days he went in suit of blue cloth, which was the common dress for clergy.[4]

[1] Statement of Professor Hutcheson about 1740: p. 46, Smith's *Survey of Argyllshire*, 1794.

[2] *Reminiscences* of Rev. J. Russell of Yarrow, p. 154.

[3] *Account of Life* of Dr. Edmund Calamy, ii. 177:—"The ministers, even in the most solemn auditories, preached with neck-cloths and coloured cloaks, which a little surprised one. It was their usual way, unless they were professors of Divinity and persons remarkable for age or gravity"; Somerville's *Life and Times*, p. 329. In the Highlands garments and manners were ruder than in the South. When Lord George Sackville entered Kintail after the battle of Culloden the minister, who appeared to protect his parishioners whose cattle were being driven off, was so unlike a clergyman that Lord George, suspecting imposition, took out his pistol and ordered the minister to show him his library to prove his clerical office, and the poor man hurried home and reappeared before his lordship with a volume of Poole's *Annotations* under his arm to convince him.—*S. A. Scot.*, Kintail, vi. 245. Some Highland ministers even wore and preached in a kilt. "The writer's father remembered the late Rev. J. M'Dowell of Forres preaching to the people in his native glen—Glenmoriston—in a kilt surmounted by a black coat. The late Mr. Malcolm Nicholson usually officiated in a kilt."—*Life and Labours of Dugald Buchanan*, by Rev. A. Sinclair, p. 66; *View of Diocese of Aberdeen*, Spalding Miscellanies, p. 74.

[4] Somerville's *Life and Times*, p. 371.

For his few and eventful visits to town to attend the General Assembly he donned his best wig, his three-cornered hat, his blue coat and long waistcoat and red cravat, saddled his ill-kempt nag, and went off amidst the waving of hands of his family and the prayers of his wife on his perilous journey over tracks of mire, ruts, and stones. When his nag stumbled down the rough causeway of Edinburgh he put up at a hostelry in the Cowgate or Grassmarket, where there was large accommodation for horses and wretched entertainment for men. But though the inn was bad and its rooms dirty, it was moderate in price and its fare much better than at the manse—the "ordinary" being 4d. He met his friends and country brethren in the street, whom he, as custom was, saluted with a kiss on the cheek,[1] and several delightful days he spent in listening to sermons "full of sap" in St. Giles, and to hot debates in the Assembly. At last he prepares to return home, purchases a volume of Durham on *Revelation*, a copy of *Sermons by that eminent Servant of the Lord, Mr. Andrew Gray*, for an elder, a new pamphlet against Prelacy by "Dominie" Anderson, or anent Professor Simson, from George Mossman's shop in Parliament Close; and then, with wig retrimmed, perhaps by Allan Ramsay at "Sign of the Mercury," with a cargo of writing-paper for his sermons and his notes, and articles of wifely apparel flapping behind him in his saddle-bags, he and his horse set forth home, where he eventually arrived in safety, and conducted "family exercises," in which he fervently thanked the Lord for providential deliverance from manifold perils. Such might be his experiences between 1705 to 1725.

The duties of the parish minister were very arduous and unremitting in wide, uncultivated parishes with isolated huts and farms in the waste moorlands and uplands. He had to visit each family certain times a year, to catechise all its members, from the father to the youngest "examinable person" of twelve, and every servant of the householder, on their religious

[1] Wodrow writes home in May 1710 on his visit to the General Assembly: "Let Johnny, if he bring the black horse, bring a wallet with him and light at W. Ker's, in the head of the Grassmarket on the side next to the Castle, and call for me at Mr. Stewart the regent's, first at Bristoe Port, or in the Parliamentary Close, the first door as he goes down the Mealmarket steps, at Mrs. Watson's, at the Assembly House."—*Correspondence.*

knowledge, to "offer a solemn address to the persons before him, and to conclude with an affectionate prayer for their temporal and eternal welfare."[1] The roads being vile in the most frequented districts, there were not even bridle-paths over most of the parishes, but mere tracks over the waste, where the minister required to make his visitations on his pony, at constant risk of being capsized in the ruts and the bogs, or of being drowned as he passed the fords of brawling streams and rivers that were rarely traversed by a bridge. Mr. Thomas Boston describes how he went through his dreary Ettrick hill-country with his "man." "The night being dark I could not discern the horse that rode before me. I caused put on his shoulder a white linen cloth for that end, but to no purpose."[2] So, through the constant mists that then rose from the marshy ground, by day and night the minister went his course. Distances being great and communication difficult, he was forced to stay in the clay-built, dirty, peat-smoked farm hut, and knowing well there should be no such luxuries as knife and fork in a house where mutton was only seen on table when a sheep died of old age or disease, he carried his jocteleg (*Jacques de Liège*) in his pocket, to be used at a board where fingers and teeth were unceremoniously applied, and where the food was often enough to disgust the most stalwart stomach.[3]

The meetings of Kirk-Session took up a preposterous amount of his time. Every rumour of misdemeanour, every

[1] Such are the ministerial duties even so late as 1810.—Moncreiff's *Life of Dr. John Erskine*, p. 70.

[2] *Memoirs.*

[3] Somerville's *Life and Times*, p. 356; Carlyle's *Autobiography*. This practice led to disastrous consequences on one occasion. Mr. Hogg, minister of Auldearn, was visitor at a house occupied by a "scoffing factor." The servant having neglected to furnish Mr. Hogg with a knife, he produced one from his pocket, observing that it was a necessary companion for a traveller, and he thereupon proceeded, according to his wont, to improve the occasion: "If we are so careful about accommodations in our way here, what care should we take in our spiritual journey," and so on with a tedious expostulating, at which the factor laughed and jeered, and the minister warned him. "O, you may despise the grace of God, but I tell you, in the name of the Lord, that the time is coming, and that shortly, when ye shall seek an offer of grace and shall not find it," on which the factor mocked again. Just as Mr. Hogg was slipping into bed a servant knocked at the door and cried, "For the Lord's sake come down to the factor's room." Mr. Hogg came down presently and found "the wretch" was dead.—Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. 266.

suspicion of scandal, was reported to and by the watchful, self-important elders. Parties were summoned by the officer before the Session, and were solemnly warned to be "ingenious" when interrogated if the report was true; witnesses for and against were called, and, being "purged of all malice," gave their evidence with nauseous minuteness.[1] For months a case may be in hand—the stealing of some corn, the utterance of an oath, the committing of adultery, the carrying a pail of water on a Fast day—and then, if in perplexity as to the truth, and after waiting in vain till the "Lord send light," the baffled Session remits the matter to the Presbytery, where it anew runs its course with painful prolixity.

Presbytery meetings were full of importance and interest to the ministers, and not seldom lasted two or three days. Members were appointed in rotation to give a discourse upon a special part of the Scripture. Accordingly the proceedings began with the minister giving an "exercise and addition," or "opening and adding an ordinar"—that is, the "ordinary" portion of Scripture selected for discourses. The excuses were read from absentees that day, or heard from those absent on the previous meeting—such as "the ford was impassable," that "the roads were blocked with snow," that he was "tender," or bed-rid, and could not come, or that he had gone to the North to "drink the goat's milk." To mingle edification with business, and to burnish their theological armour, the ministers in some places read in turn "a common-place" or "common head" in Latin treating of some weighty doctrine—the Trinity, Free Grace, or Election—and this the brethren "handled" with what skill and Latin they could muster.[2] Then there came the weary appeals of cases of scandal—for consideration; the contumacy of lairds that will not face the Session, fugitives

[1] The Kirk-Session of Foulis-Easter met twelve days to consider the case of a woman reported to have said, "Deil tak' ye," for which she is censured.—*Hist. of Foulis-Easter.*

[2] With such subjects as the following the Kircudbright Presbytery in 1702 improved their wits and their Latinity: *De concursu Dei cum causis secundis particulari, simultaneo et praevio; De unitate et identitate foederis gratiae quoad substantiam in utroque Testamento.* The very minute of Presbytery deposing the famous Mr. Macmillan of Balmaghie, in 1703, closes with reminder that at next meeting Mr. Cameron is to have his "common head," *De viribus liberi arbitrii.*—Reid's *Cameronian Apostle*, p. 86.

from discipline whom the sheriff must be got to apprehend, ruinous churches to visit and inspect with masons and wrights, who are put on their oath to give "righteous estimate," schoolmasters to examine, heritors to force to build a school, fasts to appoint against spiritual darkness, and prayers to offer for ministerial light. Thus in those tedious, useless, pedantic, solemn assemblies time was freely spent. After the meetings were closed with prayer the members had a repast in the inn of broth, mutton, and boiled hens on the wooden plates. There being only one glass, which passed along from guest to guest, each emptied it of its ale at a draught; there being neither knife nor fork, the prudent and fastidious carried their shagreen cases containing these utensils, which were found in neither farmhouse nor hostelry.

IV

The churches in the first half century—and in many cases till the close of the eighteenth century—were disgraces to art and scandals to religion. They were dark, very narrow buildings, with a few little windows having small panes of glass, which were considered so precious that they were preserved by wire outside. The floors were earthen, and in some older kirks of the North the bodies of many generations had been buried beneath them, to the detriment of health, decency, and comfort; for sometimes the bones of the dead so strewed the floor that they were kicked by the worshippers, whose noses were afflicted by the "corrupt unripe corps" disturbed to make room for new tenants.[1] The roofs were thatched with heather, fern, or turf, for straw was too scarce and valuable as food for cattle to use for thatch. Before the expense of repairing kirk and manse was imposed in 1690 on heritors—and in some places long after—many were left ruinous, and Kirk-Sessions enjoined parishioners to assist in mending and building by bringing deal boards, divots, and heather, and by carting stone and lime.[2] Left to the tender mercies of the Presbyterian

[1] Old church life in Highlands.—*Scots Magazine*, 1886.

[2] In 1680 the Session of Inverurie ordained "ilk in the parish to bring a load of heather for reparation of the kirk against Wednesday the last day of the month."—Davidson's *Hist. of Inverurie*. Parishioners of Ettrick in 1697 re-

lairds, the edifices in Episcopal times had fallen into woeful state, and when Presbytery was re-established very many were found in sad decay.

Some fine old pre-reformation churches had survived, having been reared with more artistic and less parsimonious piety; but whenever the original roofs of lead or stone fell to ruin a covering of heather or turf took their place. If more light was wanted, or easier access required, petty windows and clumsy, mean doorways were made, partitions for pews were set up which defaced or hid some fine tracery [1] or moulding, or old Norman arch; or a big gallery for the laird was erected to which he got access by outside stairs, leading to a comfortable room in which a fire blazed genially, and in which he had his collation "between sermons while the people shivered inside." [2] The Statistical Accounts of parishes written at the end of the century contain bitter lamentations of ministers over the deplorable condition of the places of worship at the time. One after another reports that the "kirk is ruinous"; "gloomy, dirty, ill-seated"; "walls in decay, and unplastered"; "unhealthy, dark, cold, sunk beneath the surrounding earth", "execrably filthy and out of repair"; "unsafe to sit in, with a rent bell." Many report that their own church is "the most shabby and miserable place of divine service in Scotland" —each being unable to imagine one worse than his own.[3] In a great many cases the buildings were so small as to give

quired to fetch heath, thick divots, lime, and deals. People of Cullen in 1702 required to have horses to "lead" stones to rebuild part of the church. Tradition was that persons concerned in certain breaches of discipline had each to carry 4 lbs. of heather to thatch the kirk.—Cramond's *Cullen*, p. 162.

[1] Dunblane Kirk-Session in 1693: "In regard ye kirk is very dark in winter tyme, the Session appoints 2 windows to be struck out on the south syde of the wall—one on each syde of the pulpit, that ye people may be better able to see to read."—*Scottish Antiquary*, v. 81.

[2] *View of Diocese of Aberdeen*, Spalding Club, p. 245; *Stat. Acct. Scot.*, Borthwick, xiii. 626.

[3] The deplorable state of churches at end of the century is to be learned from the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1793-7: Heriot, xvi. 53; Ewes, Botriphnie, Dunfermline, xiii. 455; Canobie, xiv. 426; Carrington, xiv. 441; St. Boswells, x. 407; Glasford, viii. 353; Tranent, x. 59; Kirkton, x. 81; Fetteresso, etc. St. Mungo's *New Stat. Acct.* Birse, in 1765, thatched with heather; Glenmuick, and others, to end of century.—*Stat. Acct.* Cramond's *Cullen*, p. 112. Lees' *Paisley Abbey*, p. 337: "There the birds came in through

accommodation only to a third of the parishioners. Indeed, as one looks at the ruins of old parish kirks, so small, so narrow, one wonders where the people in olden days, when dissent was unknown and Sabbath observance was compulsory, could have found room, and one becomes almost sceptical regarding the churchgoing habits of our forefathers. Be that as it may, they certainly were mean, incommodious, and comfortless; the earth of the graveyard often rose high above the floor of the church, so that the people required to descend several steps as to a cellar, before they got entrance by stooping into the dark, dismal, damp, and hideous sanctuaries. From not a few roofs the rain poured from openings in the ragged, rotten thatch, forming pools of water on the clay below, in which the feet of worshippers rested. Even in the West Kirk of Edinburgh at the middle of the century, the black semmet cowl cap with which the minister protected his head was in winter covered with a "thin glaister o' sifted snaw."[1] There were no means taken to heat the churches, so that in wet and cold weather the congregation shivered through the long services.

The words of the minister of Glenorchy in 1792[2] fitly express the feelings of his suffering brethren: "With us, in the Church of Scotland, many of our country kirks are such dark, damp, dirty hovels as to chill and repulse every sentiment of devotion; they besides endanger the health of every class of worshippers, and encourage the indolent and indifferent in their negligence of instruction"—and farther he goes in the same pathetic strain. Pennant, the traveller, found the thatched churches in the North in such a woeful plight, exposed at the roof to wind and wet, that, as he caustically observes, "the people appear like the Druids to worship in an open temple." He sums up his disgust at the ill-shaped, ill-kept, filthy edifices by saying that "in many parts of Scotland our Lord seems still to be worshipped in a stable—and a very wretched one."[3] And yet the state at the end of the century

holes in the roof, and built their nests in the clerestory." Forbes' *Journal*, p. 232; Morer's *Account of Scotland*, 1702, p. 53. Hall's *Travels*, ii. 429, 1806: "In some parts of Scotland the churches are disgusting and shamefully dirty."

[1] Dunlop's *Anent Old Edinburgh*, p. 38.

[2] *Stat. Acct. Scotland*, 1792.

[3] Pennant's *Tour*, i. 254.

must have been far surpassed in wretchedness by that at the beginning, and Andrew Fairservice's reproach was true that "many a dog kennel in England was better than a Scots church."

The century had advanced some time before most of the kirks were seated with fixed pews. Before that period the people stood during service, or sat on the stools or "creepies," which they either brought with them each Sunday, or set aside in the church.[1] These stools play an interesting and vigorous part in Kirk-Session records in connection with the brawls and disorders which in ruder days disgraced the beginning of the service. When disputes arose over their ownership or their occupancy they became handy and formidable weapons and missiles.[2] Not unfrequently when the precentor was leading the psalmody between second and third bells, before the minister stalked in, the worship of the Sabbath was preceded by the tumult of unseemly oaths, of battering stools, and struggling Christians.

Gradually the custom became general for fixed pews to be set up. Parishioners of position got permission from the Session to "set up a desk" or seat for their family in a vacant space, and they removed it when they left the parish. At other times the Kirk-Sessions or magistrates put in forms or seats, which were let to members of the congregation—the rents going to defray the expense or to increase the funds for the poor. Although it became in time almost universal to have the kirks seated, yet even up to the end of the century a few in remote districts were still without any fixed seats. The fact of there having been stools for the accommodation of worshippers was the reason of the unseemly carelessness of attitudes during service—not less in England than in Scotland.

[1] Brown's *Hist. of Paisley*, i. 96.

[2] Balfron, 1692, Feb. 17. "The quhilk day Jean More did carrie offensively in the face of the congregation by struggling about a seat before sermon. Appoynted to be summoned to the next dyett."—Guthrie-Smith's *Strathendrick*, Kirk-Session of Keith, 1720. "A. D. rebuked for his scandalous behaviour in church in time of worship, beating and disturbing several persons in order to get a seat for himself. Ordered to make public profession of repentance next Lord's day, and pay twentie pounds Scots of fine."—Gordon's *Chronicles of Church of Keith*, p. 96.

They sat or stood, they lolled or lounged at praise and prayer, at the beginning of the century,[1] as the Episcopalians before had done. Archbishop Leighton had been wont to deplore the irreverent behaviour in the worship of his people, and to urge them to behave decently by kneeling or standing at prayer, instead of indecently sitting throughout the service.[2] But all in vain.

At ten o'clock on Sunday the first bell rang, tinkling probably from a tree in the kirkyard, and at the second bell the people entered the church, when the precentor or reader led the singing of a psalm, which lasted till at the third bell the minister, hat on head,[3] entered the pulpit, when he made respectful obeisance, in order of social precedence, to the heritors, who rose in turn to bow, a practice which was a source of jealousy among rival lairds. Then, signalling to the precentor to cease singing, he began the service, during which the people sat bareheaded till he began his discourses, when they put on their bonnets. The order of the service consisted in the forenoon of a prayer; a lecture on a passage of Scripture, commented on verse by verse; then a prayer, followed by a sermon,—the sand-glass being turned to mark the time,—thereafter a prayer was given, a psalm sung, and the benediction said. The same order was followed in the afternoon, with the omission of the lecture. During the interval "between sermons" some people went home to partake of a little bread and ale, others resorted to

[1] Slovenliness and irreverence of attitude were not peculiar to Scotland. In the London churches in Queen Anne's day some stood to praise, others sat; a few knelt at prayer, most only lolled throughout the service.—*Spectator*, 455; *Tatler*, 241; Abbey and Overton's *English Church in Eighteenth Century*, ii. 471.

[2] The Charges in *Works of Archbishop Leighton*.

[3] In beginning of the century all kept on their hats during sermon, and it is even said "the vulgar sort in time of prayer give but half-cap."—*Full and Final Answers to a Trifling Paper*, 1703. In 1740 a gentleman writes condemning "a custom which I see is pretty general among the lower sort of cocking on their hats when the sermon began."—1740, *Scots. Mag.* 331. In many districts for a long time gowns were very unpopular in Galloway, though the Synod of Dumfries, "considering it is a thing very suitable and decent, so it hath been the practice of ministers formerly to wear a black gown in the pulpit, for ordinary to make use of bands, recommend it to their brethren to keep up that laudable custom and to study grave deportment."—Hogg's *Life of Dr. Wightman*.

the change house, while others remained in church, and for their edification two boys from the grammar school—if it was in a town—were appointed to stand up, and ask, and answer questions from the Shorter or Larger Catechism "in a distinct voice." On "mercat" days—usually Wednesday or Thursday —there was also sermon and service, to which in the more fervid period people resorted in numbers. The psalmody was led by the schoolmaster, who was always appointed to his office on condition of "setting up the psalms in kirk," and of teaching "common tunes" to the children in school; and he filled the post of precentor, with a meagre repertoire of tunes in the minor key, although he had no ear, and long after he lost his voice. Fortunately only two psalms were sung at each service; for to add to vocal dreariness each successive line of the psalm was read or drawled out before it was sung to the dislocation of all music. This fashion came originally from England, where it had been adopted owing to the inability of the people to read.[1] Yet it became so distinctive a feature in Scots worship—even in family devotion—that its disuse, more than a century after its importation from the south, caused secessions of stanch Presbyterians from the Church, and the formation of dissenting congregations, where they might continue the endeared practice of a "run-line" and be without the intrusive aid of uninspired pitchfork.

V

The clergy of the Revolution, distinguished by unction and pious fervour, had boundless belief in prayer, and great admiration for those who had the "gift" of praying, which was shown by its fluency, its lengthiness, its holy ardour. Those ministers were most revered who were "great wrestlers,"

[1] The English members of the Westminster Assembly in 1643 recommended this practice to all churches, and at their desire it was introduced into Scotland. Bishop Newton in England recommended it. In Langton and Kirkcaldy many of the people joined the Seceders in disgust at the schoolmaster giving up reading the lines.—*Stat. Acct.* xiv. 580. The "run-line" was even the practice in family worship. In 1746 the General Assembly issued recommendation, that "private families in their religious exercises in singing the praises of God go on without interruption of reading line."—*Acts of Assembly*, 1746.

as they were termed, who could continue long in their heavenward addresses, and weep as they did so. Mr. Robert Wodrow relates with awe how Mr. How—"a most mighty, importunate wrestler in prayer"—at a meeting after others had gone through devotional exercises, took his turn, and continued so fervently that the "sweet haled down." Thereupon Mrs. How, the watchful spouse, accustomed to his manner, "stepped to him gently, took off his wigg, and with her napkin dried the sweet and put on his wigg again. This she was obliged to do twice, if not thrice, and Mr. How seemed not to know what was done to him."[1] To weep, and then smile raptly as the long supplications in the vocative case and imperative mood were uplifted in the sanctified sing-song—or "drant," as it was termed—was the mark of the gifted. This peculiar cant or whine was specially the characteristic of the "antediluvians" and of those who admired and copied them. It had been doubtless effective in its place; thrilling and impressive as it rose and fell in holy cadence on the ears of throngs gathered on the heather or braesides, and borne on the breeze over the moorland or the glen. By a sudden rise and fall of the voice the minister could play on the emotions of the hearers as a musician on his fiddle, and, weeping himself, could make others weep.[2] But it was grotesque in the pulpit with its unpicturesque surroundings. To "mandate" or prepare a prayer beforehand was a sinful act, for the words must be uttered according to the motion of the Spirit. If a minister, deficient in this faith and modest of his powers, who had thought over the words before speaking them, yet forgot them or fumbled over them—this was a clear mark of divine displeasure at his trusting to his unsanctified power. As the times were rude, the clergymen rustic, and taste and

[1] Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 303. Mr. Kid of Carluke "was a most godly minister, much given to prayer, and a serious, affectionate preacher; so zealous in prayer that he sometimes forgot himself, and prayed the whole time he should have preached."—*Hist. of Carluke*, p. 76.

[2] Even as late as 1755 the cultivated clergy protested against the sing-song tones in preaching and praying of the evangelical ministers—"soliciting the Almighty charity with childish, lamentable sounds, as the mendicants do ordinarily solicit alms."—*Methods of Promoting Edification in Publick Instruction*, by Jas. Fordyce, D.D.

manners were coarse, utterances which are grotesque, preposterous to us, were natural and seemed proper expressions to them and their people—if they moved the ungodly to merriment, they moved the pious to awe.[1] We may well suspect the veracity of the scurrilous pamphlet, *Scots Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed*—in which "Curate" Calder ridicules and illustrates the vulgarity, folly, and fanaticism of the ministers, just as we suspect the *tu-quoque* of Redpath's rejoinder on Episcopal ways and manners;[2] but though ministers protested it was a vile calumny, there is ground to believe it was not so gross a caricature after all. Other contemporaries, moved by no party spirit, complained of the grotesque metaphors, the vulgar familiarities, the tedious battologies of the prayers; and stories of pulpit utterances were the amusement of society and the delight of the profane.[3]

The labours for and of the pulpit were severe and incessant, heavily straining to mind and to body, to compose three such sermons and a lecture as were required by the people, whose intellectual grasp cannot have been mean. These were very long; they were not written, and they dared not be read, for that would be offensive to the people, and could call forth

[1] Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. *Discourses concerning the Soul of Man . . . likewise the Author's Opinions of the Oath of Abjuration, and of the Hillmen*, etc., Edin. 1714. "It is no wonder that there is such a thronging for a kirk, especially by sons of the vulgar, and here I blame the gentry who doth not make it their study to breed their children for the ministry, and not let the sons of the lowest of the people have the power and government of the whole Church, which makes it despicable in the eyes of strangers." "Our upstart dominies, so soon as they attain to ordination, instead of being seriously concerned how to discharge the great trust they are engaged to, you will see an elevation of spirit in their countenance the very morrow thereafter, and altho' before that they would have been glad of a gentleman bringing them into conversation, behold immediately after they think themselves as good as the laird; and the meaner the extract is, the vainer is the person raised."—P. 36.

[2] *Scots Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed* [by R. Calder], Edin. 1697; *Episcopal Eloquence Displayed* [by G. Anderson]; *Scots Presbyterian Eloquence Answered* [by G. Redpath].

[3] Apologists for the Church called the stories "calumnies," and said that many attributed to Presbyterians what had been uttered by Episcopalians. Burt says, "I have heard so many, and of so many [oddities in the pulpit] that I really think there is nothing set in *Scots Presbyterian Eloquence* but what at least is probable."—*Letters from North*, i. 175; *Presbyterian Inquisition* [by A. Munro, D.D.], 1691; Ramsay's *Scot. and Scotsmen*, ii.; Pitcairn's *The Assembly*.

little blessing from the Lord. The themes of the teaching were invariably the same; namely, the Fourfold state of man: 1st, What man was in a state of innocence; 2nd, What he was after the fall; 3rd, What he is under the gospel of grace; 4th, What shall be his eternal state. It was on this quartet of doctrine that the minister prelected throughout his whole ministry without variation or cessation. These dogmas he discovered with perverse ingenuity in every text from the Song of Solomon, Leviticus, or Habbakuk. Limited as he was in subjects, he was further restricted to texts, for he was expected week after week to discourse from the same passage of Scripture in one of these sermons which was called his "ordinary." This was a custom universal in Scotland, for it was enjoined by the Church and beloved of the people. Kirk-Session records chronicle the texts which the preacher used, and how often he used it. Thus it is recorded that at Cullen, in the North, the minister discoursed for seventeen Sabbaths on Ephesians vi. 12; that in Sorn in the South the minister took as ordinary, Psalm ix. 1, 2, which occupied him and his people one year and six months.[1] When a minister has at last exhausted his text and his congregation, he announces that "next Lord's day he will change his ordinar."[2] This custom demanded no little ingenuity, to avoid dreary repetitions; and through months he had to rack his brains to turn barren metaphors in Canticles to some fruitful evangelical sense, to insert meanings the Hebrew poet never dreamt of, to draw conclusions that did not follow, and to commit to his jaded memory the long hydra-headed discourses which he might not read.[3] In his little closet the poor man, after in vain searching for new ideas in his Poole, his Weems, and his Manton,—esteemed and orthodox authorities,—often fell on his knees in sheer despair for "light." No wonder Mr. Thomas Boston has his "damps" over his discourses, and "wrestles at the throne" for help in his text. When that excellent, but not exhilarating, divine became minister of

[1] Cramond's *Church of Cullen*, p. 141; Edgar's *Old Church Life*, i. 92.

[2] *Parish of Maryton*, by Fraser, p. 214.

[3] In 1720 the General Assembly declared that the reading of sermons was displeasing to God's people, and caused no small obstruction to spiritual consolation.

Simprin in 1699, in his sermons "he entered upon" man's natural state of total depravity—which theme lasted a year; then he preached on Christ as the remedy for man's misery for another year; succeeding discourses on the application of the remedy occupied him thirteen months; and by 1704 he had finished his famous course of sermons on the "fourfold state," which lasted in all about five years.[1] At another time this indefatigable pastor in the little rural kirk began at his Wednesday service, which was at midday, when the ploughmen stopped for their repast, an "ordinar" on a verse of the Song of Solomon, which continued from 1704 for two years—a hundred sermons on one text—which, he complacently remarks, "afforded us many a sweet hour together."

Depending so entirely on their mood, their vocabulary, and their memory for the prolonged discourses, perplexed to know what more for the thousandth time to say, they were often in sore straits. In his narrow "book-room" the minister sought divine assistance, and when he finds a suitable text he feels certain that "it is given to him," though when he can make nothing of it he is sure that "Satan is withholding him." Where a modern preacher would say "he could not see his way," the minister of those times said "he was in much darkness." If he was not fluent, and had difficulty "in running his glass," he felt "much straitened, and the Lord had withdrawn His hand." At times Mr. Thomas Boston, conscious that his "frame was gone" and his ideas are slow, sits in his pulpit between sermons crying bitterly.[2] Happy was the good man that day when after being anxious as to his "through bearing," and after "driving" heavily with his communion address, he could record: "This day I had a sweet

[1] Boston's *Memoirs*. A Shetland minister at the beginning of the nineteenth century preached for a year and six months on "the 12 wells of water, and 3 score and 10 palm trees of Elim (Exodus xv. 27), devoting a Sunday to each well and each tree."—*Shetland Minister of Eighteenth Century* (Rev. J. Mill), by Rev. J. Willcock, p. 52.

[2] "The Lord gave me great composure of mind, and suggested many things to me in speaking which I had not so much as thought before."—*Diary of Ralph Erskine*, 1717, p. 21. "At Edrom I was much helped in the first prayer, but in the other parts of the forenoon exercise I had not such clear uptaking of things nor the weight in my spirit that I should have had. This made me cry betwixt sermons."—Boston's *Memoirs*.

while in confidence in the Lord, grasping the Promise over the belly of felt foolishness."[1]

The most popular and deeply gospel preachers in the early days of the century had a wondrous influence over the people, pleading with sinners "to close with Christ," and shedding tears copiously. Nothing more eulogistic could be said of any divine than that he was "a most affectionate weeping preacher." Carried away by the rapture of his mood (or, to speak in his own language, "much countenanced of the Lord"), he would go on till he was exhausted in breath, and then he would order the people to sing, or he would burst into prayer, and thereafter resume with increased vigour. The antediluvians and the gospel ministers were famous for a peculiar professional whine or "sough"—with notes so flat that Captain Burt relates how a music master set them to a tune on his fiddle;[2] and curiously enough, some years afterwards Simon Lord Lovat, after listening, not too reverently, to the see-saw whine of Mr. Ralph Erskine in his soul-awakening discourses, set that eminent divine's horrific notes also to music, putting to his profanely mocking chords words beginning—"Ye drunkards of Dunfermline," which were more plain than proper, for the delectation of the ungodly.

Lugubrious as was the old theology, and monotonous and

[1] Mr. Francis Aird, minister of Dalserf, was singularly countenanced at communion. Mr. Stirling tells me he was a most fervent, affectionate, weeping preacher.—*Analecta*, iii. 172. "Mr. J. Bowes was the most popular preacher I ever heard, and he would run on in a strain of exhortation for more than an hour, sometimes with denunciations of threats and invitations to Christ. . . . He had a peculiar tone and smile that seemed to some not suitable. He had many apologies and exhortations for success, and invited the people to pray for him."—*Ibid.* i. 21. "I was in exercises for an hour together," says Boston, "in the tent and at the table, only I rested in the midst of my sermon one while, the congregation singing, and then I prayed a few words. I never did this before, but I bless the Lord who gave me the counsel."—*Memoirs*, p. 406. An epitaph in Carluke churchyard commemorates the virtues of a departed minister:—

> A faithful holy minister here lies hid,
> One of a thousand, Mr. Peter Kid,
> Firm as a stone, but of a heart contrite,
> A wrestling, praying, weeping Israelite.
>
> *Hist. of Carluke*, p. 68.

[2] *Letters from the North;* Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, ii. "Ministers in heavy, dismal tones draw out words to immoderate length with distortion of faces."—*Letter from a Blacksmith, etc.*, 1759.

destitute of all literary grace the preaching, many of the published sermons of those days have a vigour and uncouth eloquence of their own, a pathos in appeal, a curious ingenuity of argument, a vivid phrasing, which go far to account for their reputation and influence. With only two or three dogmas to enforce all their days, it may be conceived what labour it was to extract new light from irrelevant texts in Canticles and Amos. Every text was twisted in a gospel significance and turned into an evangelical metaphor. No thimblerigger at a country fair more nimbly put under the thimble peas which he professed to have found there, than at "holy fairs" did ministers insert into Jewish words Calvinistic doctrines which they professed to discern therein. Earnest, pious as they are in their discourses when they address their hearers as "sirs," they are excruciating reading from a literary point of view. Phrases occur among what they term their "observes" which are a compost of Scots, Latin, and English. When the preacher desires to state that God knows what has happened, he says, "God jalousies that it is notour"; when there is much to be done, "there is a great strick of wark"; to omit is "to evite"; a miracle is "a remarkable"; to die peacefully is "to expire without the shruggs of death"; to condemn is "to vilepend"; to overcome self-will is "to come over the belly of felt wants"; to be religiously concerned is to have "a sensible uplifting"; to be bankrupt is to be "a dyvour"; to be protected is to be "under scrogg"; to stir up strife is "to increase the gum"; to be perplexed or nonplussed is to be in a "nonentity"; to be angry is "to be in a chagarine." Scripture narrative is also turned into pulpit phrases. Reminiscent of Abraham and Isaac, to make a sacrifice is "to put the knife to the throat of our desires." Allusive to Moses, earnestness is an "uplifting of the hands"; and, of course, to pray is invariably "to wrestle," like Jacob with the mysterious angel. All this spoken in that broad Scots in which everybody spoke —gentle and simple alike—till far on in the century.[1]

[1] Writings of Spalding, Wedderburn, Erskine, Wodrow, Blackwell, Boston, etc., *passim*.

VI

One of the earliest acts of the re-established Church prohibited the private administration of baptism—a law the more irritating to Episcopalians, owing to their not being for some time allowed any public place of worship, and the less consistent of Presbyterians, seeing that they for twenty-six years had themselves baptized secretly in hut, or glen, or moorland. It was after 1690 enjoined that the child should be christened only during public worship, and it was said some would rather a child should die than the law be broken.[1] It is true that Mr. Thomas Boston, a strict adherent to the rule, was able to make the comfortable reflection that "during the whole course of my ministry of eighteen years, never a child died without baptism through my sticking to that principle—glory to a good God for it!"[2] But Providence did not always suspend the laws of nature to suit Acts of Assembly, or for ministers other than the author of "The Fourfold State." To conform to law and at the same time conform to humanity, ministers often announced that public worship would be held at the remote cottage or farm town where the parents of an infant lived, and then going through a whole service at the cottage or in a barn they performed the rite of baptism, which was followed by an entertainment which did not tend to sobriety.[3] The eagerness of the parents to have their children christened gave unlimited power to the ministers; but this parental anxiety proceeded less from piety than from superstition.

[1] *Strange News from Scotland:* London, 1712.

[2] *Memoirs.*

[3] As early as 1696 ministers in some quarters gave way, and Kirk-Session of Drymen ordained that whoever sends for the minister to marry or baptize out of the church shall pay, for each marriage 20 shillings (Scots), and for each baptism 10 shillings.—Smith's *Strathendrick*, p. 84. "1703.—To ye kirk-treasurer for William's daughter's private baptism, £3, 14s."—P. 303; *Account Books of Foulis of Ravelston.* The Penpont Presbytery, 1736, deplores "the too great gatherings at some baptisms, too great preparations made for them, and too much drunk at them, and in some places there is a scandalous way at drinking in coming with the child to and from the place of administration, whereas at such a time not only parents should endeavour a religious frame of soul, but also any friends and neighbours that are invited upon such occasions to be witnesses to the dedication should be devout."—*Penpont Presby. Records.*

Till it was baptized the baby was a thing without a name, and without a name it would possibly not be saved; for how could it in the resurrection be identified? It might be carried off by fairies and a changling substituted for it; and till it was christened it was subject also to malign power of the evil eye—to avert which each visitor was presented with the propitiatory gift of a piece of bread.[1] It was the richer and more influential classes who held out against the ecclesiastical rule, and the ministers trembled at the prospect of gentry getting Episcopal dissenters to christen their infants. In 1718 Mr. Robert Wodrow wrote home to his wife in horror: "There is a scandalous compliance with a custom which has come down to us from the South of baptizing the infants of most people in their houses, and winked at lest the gentry become Episcopalians."[2] Soon ministers were obliged to yield to those whom they feared to disoblige; but they made them pay fines, which were put in the poor-box.

Other innovations began to excite indignation. The law of the Church was stringent in requiring every marriage to be solemnized in church, and the penalties were severe for violation of it. This was a regulation of old date; but shortly after the beginning of the century many Presbyterians of position began to insist on weddings being in their own houses; while the Episcopalians, deprived of places of public worship, had nowhere else to have them. Truly the old damp and dirty kirks were not ideal places for a marriage, nor was it easy or pleasant for bridal parties to travel to them over roads which were almost impassable in dry weather, and stretches of mud and water in wet. In vain did the Church fulminate against such gross irregularities as private weddings; the gentry cheerfully paid their fines of 20s. Scots and upwards, which went to replenish the poor-box. But while the rich were married at home, the poor up to the middle of the century were married at kirk, to which the company went to the music of a fiddle. In ignorance of old ways, it is usually

[1] Gregor's *Folk-Lore of North-East of Scot.* "I wat well, it's a very uncanny thing to keep about a house a body wanting a name."—Dugal Graham's Chapbook *Jockey and Maggy;* Cromek's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song.*

[2] *Correspondence,* April 1718.

supposed that private weddings are a peculiar institution of the Presbyterian Church, though really it originated in Scotland with the Episcopalian dissenters. Indeed, it was the poor[1] who continued longest the custom of being married in church, and it was the rich and fashionable who first abandoned it.

Though religion entered intimately into almost every event of human life in those days, there was one occasion when it was strikingly absent—namely, at funerals. The old savour of Popery hung suspiciously around death and burial, and the prevailing dread, therefore, was lest any religious act should countenance the superstitions of the past. Funerals and burials were in consequence treated as civil acts, and no religious service was permitted in Scotland either in Episcopal or in Presbyterian days. The hour that a death occurred in a village or town the bellman was informed, and however untimely late at dark night or early in gray morning, he passed along the street tinkling the dead-bell to call attention to his intimation. The bellman summoned all to the funeral,[2] and for anyone to absent himself was regarded as a discourtesy to the dead and an insult to the living, and a gross neglect of a Christian duty. The concourse was huge, and increased by those who came from far and near to every funeral to partake of the meat and drink which was freely distributed.[3] Meeting at the door of the cottage, the company went in by relays to partake of the several courses of cakes, or bread, ale, snuff, and tobacco. Then, setting forth to burial, the beadle went in front, tinkling the bell, while the procession followed the coffin.[4] The body duly buried, friends

[1] Somerville's *Life and Times*, 346.

[2] Ray's *Second Itinerary*, 1664; Kirk's *Modern Account of Scotland*, 1679; *Tour in Great Britain* (begun by Defoe), iv. 247; Burt's *Letters*, i. 217; Gordon's *Chronicles of Keith*, p. 359. Custom retained in some places up to close of century—*Stat. Acct. Scot.*, Borrowstounness, xviii. 439. Dead-bell used at funerals in Hawick in 1780.—Wilson's *Hawick*, p. 164.

[3] In cases of poverty the Kirk-Session supplied means of entertainment: For ale to David Ritchie's burial, 31s.; for pipes and tobacco to said burial, 15s. 6d.—P. 234, Campbell's *Hist. of Balmerino*. "In the Highlands the late wake attended by bagpipes and the relations of the man and wife, sons and daughters begin a melancholy ball."—Pennant's *Tour*, iii. 3.

[4] The Presbytery of Penpont in 1736, among many abounding evils against which they warn the people, protest: "Yet further how unaccountable and scandalous are the large gatherings and unbecoming behaviour at burials and

returned to the house and partook of a second and more leisurely repast called the "dredgy" (a corrupt form both of the old Popish word and function of the "dirge"), when the drinking was long and deep; and afterwards they sought their way in a very unsober state to their respective abodes. The house of mourning and the house of feasting were then identical, and funerals were attended with scenes both riotous and scandalous. The minister had no professional part at a burial, and his presence was not essential, though usual.[1] The only recognition of religion was in the long and copious blessings "offered" and thanks "returned" as the viands were handed round the company. These graces, containing particular reference to the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, were said by any sedate person, by an elder, or by the minister if he happened to be present. Gradually, as the century advanced, the presence of the minister became a matter of course, the prayers at the refreshments became more elaborate; and when these funeral repasts disappeared, the devotional exercises, which had originated in graces over the food, remained, and became the funeral service before the body was removed from the house.

In connection with funerals a grim and curious form began to creep into use at the end of the seventeenth century or beginning of the eighteenth, known as the "chesting." When the body was being put into the chest or coffin the night before burial, prayers were offered up by the minister or elder in presence of the family and neighbours. The origin of this un-

lake-wacks, also in some places how many are grossly unmannerly in coming to burials without invitation. How extravagant are many in their preparations for such occasions, and in giving much drink, and driving it too frequently before and after the corpse is enterred, and keeping the company too long together; how many scandalouslie drink untill they be drunk on such occasions; this practice cannot but be hurtfull, therefore ought to be discouraged and reformed, and people that are not ashamed to be so vilely unmannerly as to thrust themselves into such meetings without being called ought to be affronted."—*Penpont Presbytery Records.*

[1] *Book of Discipline and Directory for Public Worship* forbade any religious ceremony, reading, or singing connected with a burial; and attendance at a funeral was not regarded as a ministerial duty. "Burials are made without a minister [this refers also to Episcopal days in 1687]. He is seldom seen at their most solemn funeral any more than the husband at the wife's funeral."—Morer's *Acct. of Scotland*, 1702; *Tour through Great Britain*, iv. 247. The presence of the minister after 1700 was usual.

pleasant institution was the passing of Acts of Parliament for the encouragement of trade in Scotland. In 1694 an Act designed by the Scots Parliament to foster linen manufactures ordained that everybody should be shrouded in a sheet of plain linen without lace or point. In 1705 this Act was repealed —as the linen industry no longer required such support—and another Act was passed, ordering that every corpse should be swathed in plain Scots woollen cloth, as that trade then needed encouragement.[1] To secure faithful obedience to these laws, Parliament (in 1695) enjoined that the nearest elder or deacon, with a neighbour or two, "should be present at the putting in of the dead corps in the coffin, that they may see the same done."[2] From this rule arose the lugubrious custom of "kisting," so long a favourite in many districts, when the devotional exercises were held by minister or elders as the body was transferred to the coffin. Even at the end of the century in many districts women to the number of forty would assemble in the hot room where the body lay, gossiping, drinking tea or whisky, while the more sedate ineffectually tried to lead the conversation upon solemn subjects.[3]

VII

But all the functions of the ministers, all parts of the religious life of Scotland, sink into insignificance compared with those connected with the Lord's Supper, known by names significant of their transcendent importance—the "Occasion," or the "Great Work," or the "Sacred Solemnity."[4] It was

[1] In some southern counties of Scotland the custom of wrapping bodies in woollen shrouds still continues.—P. 115, Hogg's *Life of Wightman.*

[2] The Act was so often broken by the richer classes, who preferred more ornate winding sheets, that a regular item in undertaker's bill was: "To paying the penalty (40 merks) under Act for burying in Scots wollen." He only charged half the fine to his customer, taking credit for the other half as being "the informer" against himself. The similar law in England was equally objectionable and hurtful to vanity:

> Odious! in woollen! 'twould a saint provoke,
> Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke.—Pope.

[3] *New Stat. Acct. Scot.*, Armadale, vi. 306. The practice still kept up in south and west country districts.

[4] *Old Church Chronicle* (of Whitekirk), by Waddell, p. 161.

held in a summer month—usually June or July—and was celebrated not more than once a year, often at intervals of two or three years. Sometimes eight or nine parishes [1] joined together, the parishioners going in succession to each church, so that from June to August, in a district every second Sunday, people attended a great provincial communion, while their own kirk was shut up. After the approaching celebration was announced several weeks were spent by the clergyman visiting and catechising the persons in his bounds, parents and children, masters and servants. The elders were busy hearing reports and investigating rumours of scandal. More wholesomely they were directed in their several appointed districts to make up quarrels amongst neighbours and reconcile enemies before appearing at the Lord's table.[2] In the Kirk-Session there was the meeting held for private dealing with one another. Each elder in succession left the room, and in his absence the others were asked if they knew anything against their brother, and, if there was no objection, he was called in and "encouraged to continue his work in the Lord." [3]

The news spreading far and wide that in a certain parish the "occasion" was to be celebrated, people from surrounding quarters prepared to be present—it being a regular compact of servants with their masters that they should be allowed to attend so many fairs or communions each year. The influx of strangers was enormous.[4] A population of 500 might be swelled to 2000 by people who wended their way on foot or horse along the bridle-paths which served as roads, or over hills and moors, which had not even a track, to arrive in time for the "preachings" on Thursday, Saturday, and Monday, as well as on the communion Sunday. If the

[1] *Stat. Acct. Scot.*, Glasgow, vii. 14; *Diary of George Brown.*

[2] *Scottish Notes and Queries*, February 1897; Bain's *Arbroath*, p. 97.

[3] *Morton Kirk-Session Records*, 1700-1740.

[4] Wodrow records, August 22, 1726, that in Eastwood, lying so near Glasgow, there are great numbers of communicants and crowds of hearers. "Sometimes we have 11,000 or 12,000"—nearly equal to the then population of Glasgow—"and ordinarily 1000 communicants."—*Correspondence.* In 1788, 1400 communicated in Mauchline, where Holy Fairs were in full swing; only 400 communicants belonged to the parish.—Edgar's *Old Church Life.* Ebenezer Erskine at Portmoak, with tiny population, had always 1000 communicants at sacrament.

minister had fame as a gospel preacher, and was therefore "much followed," as the phrase was, communicants would travel forty miles to be present. Shelter and food were not easily got, for provisions were scarce and houses were few.[1] In the fields, in the fine moonlit nights,—and they chose full moon for the occasion,—in sheds, barns, and woods, or on the floor of the kirk, many sought rest. It naturally became a matter of grave concern how to feed the host of hungry people who had flocked in. The parishioners themselves were always poor; in the best of seasons corn was scarce with them, and there was little straw left to make beds. In bad weather Kirk-Sessions in despair met for prayer and deliberation how to entertain so many folk, and where to procure oatmeal and barley meal for the hungry multitude. So great was the strain upon the slender resources of the farmers and labourers, that ministers were often compelled to defer the communion year after year, because they could not afford to feed so many for several days together, and because the Session had not funds enough wherewith to buy sufficient wine for the Lord's table for such a concourse.[2]

What frequently added to the interest of these "occasions"

[1] In Sutherland there were enormous convocations at the communion. "Some coming fifty miles to the ordinances, yet they are much straitened what to do, by the vulgar notion that it is not lawful to take money for the entertainment of strangers from neighbouring places, and yet the charges are so great that the ministers, for the people's sake, only have communion once in two years."—*Analecta*, iv. 4; *Scots Magazine*, 1747, p. 126; *Stat. Acct. Scot.*, Carmunnock, xviii. 177; Guthrie-Smith's *Strathendrick*, p. 85. In 1712, at Creich, "the bulk of people attended in such numbers that the introduction of strangers became so burdensome to the parishioners that the minister was induced to have communion only every two years."—*Fasti Eccles. Scot.*, v. 334. In Ireland similar difficulties were experienced in poor Presbyterian congregations.—Reid's *Presbyterian Church of Ireland*, iii. 28.

[2] Minister of Dunrossness in 1756 relates: "I found the people generally rude and ignorant. This made one defer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper for six years, though I had other disarrangements for want of a manse, communion cups, tables, and utensils necessary."—Mill's *Diary*, p. 12. In 1716 the elders of Callander state that the "parish has been so long vacant, whereby ignorance and immorality abounded, that they did not know when they would be in any case for having the Lord's Supper administered among them."—*Dunblane Presbytery Records*. In Rosemarkie the communion was not celebrated up to 1724; in Saddle till 1742—"the Presbytery never did find it could be celebrated with any prospect of edification."—Craven's *Church in Ross*, p. 118. In Duffus communion not dispensed till 1732.—Craven's *Church in Moray*, p. 201.

was the long interval which in some districts passed between the celebrations. In certain places, especially in the early part of the century, many years elapsed between the communions; and the reasons given for this omission at the presbyterial Visitations afford curious illustrations of the times. Sometimes it is "because the members of the church are not in such a state of knowledge and grace that they could partake profitably"; or that the minister "desires to be deliberate," for "the people are not yet in case for the solemn ordinances." At other times it is explained that the burden of the Session in supplying wine is too heavy, and the people are too poor to entertain the strangers. Sometimes cloths, tokens, vessels, had disappeared, and the Kirk-Session complains and explains that "there are no utensils for the Supper, the cups and flagon having been carried off by the discarded curate." But even in Episcopal days there was often in some parishes no celebration of communion for long years, and no patten or cup to be found in the kirk.

The awe, the fear, the spiritual strivings with which pious people regarded their presence at communion were strangely keen. Sometimes they came with fear and trembling, "not sure that they were Christ's," at other times in much joy, "having found an interest in Him." They retired to their barns or closets, seeking "light at the throne." One of the most singular features of those days was the custom prevailing amongst persons of severe cast of mind making self-dedications,[1] which they wrote down and renew year

[1] Fraser's *Memoirs*, p. 212; Turnbull's *Diary*, Scottish Hist. Society, p. 393; *Life of Professor Wodrow*. The following is one of those "espousals":—"O Lord, I am come to Thee as I can, through the help of Thy grace. I make an express covenant with Thee for all that God of His infinite mercy hath done for my recovery from the lost esteat I was in by nature. Forasmuch as Thou hast brought me in this world of Christian parents, so also by them I am instructed in the principles of my holy religion, which taught me there is no recovery but by fleeing to the blood of Christ. So I am come this day to give myself; so, O Lord, I give my fower children to Thee. I bege, for Christ's seak, that they may be sanctified by Thy grace and made instruments to serve Thee in this present evill world; and I pray Thee that Thou would give me grace to performe this engagement and all my former engagements, which bear dait March 1699, April 3, 1701, Aug. 11, 1710, which if my evill heart deceive me not I give my consent to them, and this with my heart and soull.—Anne Stewart." This covenant is renewed and re-signed year after year, on the eve of "going to the

by year. The usual time for making these "covenants" or "trysts" was on the eve of a communion. Each time they are about "to approach the tabell of the Lord" they subscribe anew their "espousals with Christ," in which they dispose to His service their lives, their children, their earthly goods. As they wrote those bonds in their little chambers, there being no mortal present to be witnesses of them, some of these devout Christians solemnly declare how they appeal to angels above and objects of nature below to testify to their vows, as Joshua called on the rocks of Shechem.[1] Leaning on his closet bed, Mr. Thomas Boston takes the several quarters of the wooden bed to witness that he "has gone under a covenant of blood." One worthy man[2] relates how "I went my lone into a wood and I covenanted away myself, my bairns, and theirs to all generations, and took the place I was sitting in, and the trees, and the heavens, and angells, and God Himself that knew my heart, witnesses that we should be for Him and not for another, without any reserve in body, goods, and soul. On the back of this I had such joy and peace in believing as I cannot express, and the morn sat at the tabell sweetly, and came home next day rejoicing." Few, we suppose, acted like that uncompromising lover of all solemn covenants, whether private or national, Adam Gib, who signed his tryst after dipping his pen in the blood from his veins. But without any such sanguinary signatures the forms of such personal espousals were impressive enough. The eminent Mr. Wilson, companion of the Erskines in the Secession of 1733, a man "frequent in wrestling with God," concluded his "tryst" when he was a student with the words: "Subscribed with my own hand this day of Nov. 1708, the dreadful God being witness."

Some of these pious wills and testaments still exist in

tabell of the Lord," until 1741, when the pen seems to have dropped from the old lady's hand.—*Caldwell Papers*, i. 258. Mill of Dunrossness in 1770 enters into a "covenant of engagements."—*Diary*, Scot. Hist. Society, p. 33.

[1] Boston's *Memoirs*.

[2] Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. 79. Glasgow, Sept. 20, 1701.—"I was at night at prayer, and I wan to a verie good frame, so that I indentred myself in a covenant with God and toke heaven and earth to witness, angells, son, moon and stars, the workhows and all that was there, to witnes that I took Christ for my king, priest, and prophet, and for my head and husband. . . . Subscribed by my hand. James Brown."—P. 354, George Brown's *Diary*.

family archives, curious memorials of a phase of religious devotion long vanished, pathetic documents worn with frequent renewal and oft perusal. The ink is now yellow and dim; the rough paper is brown with age; the vows are expressed in quaint phrase and quainter penmanship, strange specimens of exquisite feeling and atrocious spelling. One can see in the antique manuscripts how, as years went by, the signatures grow more shaky from infirmity and old age, and the strokes of the pen become veritable paralytic strokes; yet abating no whit of ancient devotion through the long period of maybe forty years.

When the concourses were great the preachings were held in the field or churchyard, where the preachers in succession took their place in the wooden erection like a sentry-box, called the "tent." Meetings in the open air had a keen fascination for the people, especially in the western counties, for they were redolent of memories of the old days of persecution, when they had sat on the moors or grassy slopes in glens listening to the inspired and inspiring words of covenanting ministers. There were two services and sermons on Thursday, two, or even three, on Saturday; and the long communion services of Sunday, with the "action sermon" preceding the Supper, were concluded by another sermon at night, to be succeeded by the Monday services. When the ministers engaged to preach on these occasions were popular and "gospel" men the crowds sitting around them were large and enraptured, and, moved by the strenuous voice from the tent, they burst into tears and sighs and groans. Curiosity and love of excitement were the feelings pervading hundreds in those gatherings. The appearance in the "tent" of a minister dry and "legal" was the signal for the bulk of the people to withdraw, and when he appeared to address a table there were hardly any could be coaxed by the elders to sit down to communicate.[1] These preachers were vulgarly known as "yuill" (ale) ministers, because during their services the people resorted to the ale barrels. On the other hand, the field was crowded in dense masses round the box when someone who was a fervid, an "affectionate," preacher stood up to address them—men, like

[1] Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 341; iv. 271, 274.

Mr. Ralph Erskine, who were known as "kail-pot preachers," because their thrilling appeals kept their audiences in rapt attention till night, all forgetful of the Sabbath kail simmering in the pot at home.

The communion services on Sunday in those days began usually at nine o'clock in the morning and continued till night, when a sermon wound up the laborious day. With 2000 communicants there would be thirty tables, each to be addressed by ministers in turn before the elements were handed round.[1] The elements varied in different districts. In Aberdeenshire the bread was cut into "dices;" elsewhere it was usually in slices, cut from loaves. In Galloway it was shortbread; in the east counties it was unleavened bread. The wine was sack or claret in the early part of the century, for port was little known and rarely used, though in some places ale was served.[2] The services were not seldom deeply impressive and picturesque when held in the open air, especially when the tables were laid on trestles on the grass. There were the farmers and ploughmen in their clean but coarse homespun hodden gray and blue bonnets, the women in their white toys and the woollen plaids of scarlet or green drawn over their heads, in side groups the old lairds in their homespun cloth and sober dress, the young lairds in their laced three-cornered hats, gay-coloured gilt-braided coats and jack-boots, and beside them ladies in their bright scarlet silken plaids, which, as a traveller in 1726 said, made a Scots church like a "parterre of flowers."[3] The minister clad in his bob-wig, blue or gray coat and cravat, spoke in that sing-song which rose in curious cadence in the air. Even the long drawn-out psalm tunes, although broken by each line being read out and sung in turn, rose plaintive and sweet from a throng of voices; and the prayers, with their earnest, weeping pleading, came forth in a stillness broken only by sudden sighs and ejaculations, or the sharp cry of the curlew in the heather, and the song of the lark overhead.

[1] As at Dull.—*Stat. Acct. Scotland*, ii. 361.

[2] The Scotch Episcopal chaplain to Lord Ogilvie administers eucharist on Culloden field with oat cake and whisky from lack of usual elements.—P. 182, *Bishop Forbes' Journal and Church of Moray*, by Craven.

[3] [Macky's] *Journey through Scotland.*

Before the people took their places at the communion tables, whether arranged in the open air or up the middle of the church, the minister "fenced," the tables, debarring from them all unclean and unworthy persons. In his fencing address the minister enumerated with elaborate detail the various sins which rendered persons unfit to take part in the "sealing ordinances," lest they should eat and drink damnation to themselves. In the early part of the century, when zeal outran discretion, he ordered away all warlocks and witches, all Sabbath breakers and profane swearers, all that put on gauds and vain attire, all that spoke lies or evil of others, all users of minced oaths.[1] Sometimes in the long catalogue of vices the most loathsome sins unfit to name were plainly mentioned as unfitting persons for the feast.[2] In the days when controversy was hot as to whether or not the abjuration oath should be taken, the narrow, fanatical clergy debarred from the Supper those who took it, and made their political aversions un-Christian sins.[3]

The denunciations uttered against those who dared to take the communion unworthily were fierce and terrible. "O sirs!" cried out one Mr. Spalding,[4] a minister "much followed" in those days,—"O sirs! will ye seal this damnation to yourselves and, as it were, make it sure ye shall be damned, and so drive the last nail in your damnation? Rather put a knife to your throat than approach. What, man! will ye kill and be

[1] It is said that a Dumfriesshire minister declared, "I debar from these tables all who use any kind of minced oaths such as 'losh,' 'gosh,' 'teth,' or 'lovenenty.'"—Hogg's *Life of Wightman*.

[2] MS. sermons delivered at communion at Stenton in 1702.

[3] Morer's *Diary*, Spalding Miscellanies, i. 295.

[4] *Syntaxis Sacra: a Collection of Sermons preached at several Communions*, by Rev. J. Spalding, minister at Dundee: Edinburgh, 1702 (specially recommended by the General Assembly). To partake of the Supper unworthily is to break the command "Thou shalt not murder." "It is a body-murthering sin; for this cause many are sick and weak among you, and many sleep. It is a church-murthering sin; for it threatens to give us a bill of divorcement. It is a soul-murthering sin; many drink and eat their own damnation. It is a relation-murthering sin; for your wives and your children bear marks of your unworthy communicating. O dreadful! many are the worse of communion, and their salvation more difficult and seven times worse a child of the devil than before. O, how so? I tell you that Satan goes out of you as out of the madmen for eight or ten days before the communion, and that he returns with seven worse devils than before."

guilty of His body and blood? The worst morsel that ever ye tasted is to eat and drink eternal vengeance." Yea: it was proclaimed to be committing "murder." The would-be communicant was placed in a grave dilemma; for though ministers told him he was running fearful risks if he partook, insomuch that "many were the worse of communion, and made seven times more a child of the devil than before," yet they also told him that it was as guilty to withdraw. "Dare ye bide away," exclaims the formidable Spalding, "and take His anger upon ye, and give that affront to do what in you lies to spite His Supper and frustrate the grace of God?"[1] In such addresses we hear little of the grace and worth of a pure, simple, moral life, and the meetness of charity for the communion; but we hear *ad nauseam* of "the necessity of closing with the bargain with Christ," and of "getting a grip of Him"; there is pettifogging advice about taking Him as "surety" and "cautioner"; while in the Doric sough of the age the preacher, with a scornful sniff, exclaims, "O dull duties! O poor professions! O filthy raggs of my righteousness!"

The services, in spite of their prolixity, their uncouthness, worked marvellously on the feelings of the people. The devout partook of the feast with intensest happiness, or withdrew from it to the wood or orchard and poured out their emotions in moans and tears.[2] During the appeals of gifted preachers many were moved to sigh, to loud weeping, and frequent ejaculations, which passed effectively through the throng, and both disturbed and gratified the preacher. In fact, the religious fervour of those days shows an emotional demonstrativeness and spiritual abandonment which are utterly alien to the Scots characteristics of modern days, which are reserve reticence, and hard self-control. The power of these addresses from ministers, uttering their appeals to fear, and indeed to terror of judgment, had power over the most divergent natures. There were men who could be sensitive to spiritual emotion, yet full of sensuality; men who were at once pious without good-

[1] In Bute at one time those remiss in going to communion were first admonished and then fined; while those wilfully abstaining from it had to pay 46s. Scots and to stand in the pillory for a Sunday.—Hewison's *Bute*, i. 275.

[2] Wodrow's *Life of Professor Wodrow; Analecta, passim.*

ness and vicious without conscious hypocrisy. Speaking of that sanctified scoundrel Lord Grange and his associates, who "passed their time in alternate scenes of exercises of religion and debauchery, spending the days in prayer and pious meditation, and their nights in lewdness and revelling," Dr. Alexander Carlyle[1] expresses his belief that they were alike sincere in both moods. "There is no doubt of their profligacy, and I have frequently seen them drowned in tears during the whole of a sacramental day, when, so far as my observation could reach, they could have no rational object in acting a part." It was in this way people were affected who mistook their nerves for their conscience.[2]

It was a terrible calamity on the "great occasion" when the weather was bad, and the wind and pelting rain came on; for there was little shelter from the elements for the pilgrim multitudes; there were no woods to take refuge in, the narrow kirk could not cover them; and there must have originated rheumatism, ague, consumption, as well as untold amount of bodily discomfort from "gospel solemnities." The weather was, therefore, a subject of fervent prayer at family worship in every manse, and it was devoutly believed that Providence specially interposed to ward off the rain and storm on this occasion. Here, however, is one case in which Providence did not interfere, as described by Mr. Thomas Boston:[3] "On Saturday there was some thunder before we went out, between 2 and 3, when I began my sermon it returned and went to a great pitch. Upon the back of the second and third clap, I said to the people, 'The God of glory thundereth, He will give His people strength and bless them with peace'; so I went on undisturbed, the fire now and then flashing in my eyes. The people sat decently and gravely without any disturbance more than the drawing of their cloaks about them as in the case of rain. In the time of prayer after sermon the thunder went to a prodigious height, that I could not miss the imagination of being struck down in a moment, but through grace was kept undisturbed in my work." The picture of the minister of Ettrick

[1] *Autobiography*, p. 15.
[2] *Analecta*, iii. 341, iv. 272, 274.
[3] Boston's *Memoirs*, 1776, p. 500.

—himself safe from rain in his wooden tent—placidly giving two sermons, besides prayers, a psalm, and tokens, while, utterly unprotected, the congregation were flashed on by lightning, deafened by thunder, and threatened with a deluge of rain, is highly impressive.

Solemn and striking as those great sacramental meetings were,—scenes of devotion which were repeated for many years, and influenced many serious souls,—there were spots in their feasts which became darker as the century went on and piety went off. Imposing the communions often were when celebrated in the open air on a fine calm summer Sunday; but the Occasions were not without their ugly features. An eye-witness of them about the middle of the eighteenth century—who under the guise of a blacksmith wrote a caustic pamphlet—gives a vivid, though unfavourable, picture of those pious occasions:[1] "At first you find a great number of men and women lying together on the grass; here they are sleeping and snoring; some with their faces towards heaven, others with their faces downwards and covered with their bonnets; there you will find a knot of young fellows and girls making assignations to go home together in the evening or to meet at some ale-house; in another place you see a pious circle sitting on an ale barrel, many of which stand on carts for the refreshment of the saints. . . . When you get a little nearer the speaker, so as to be within reach of the sound, if not of the sense of his words—for that can only reach a small circle, even when the preacher is favoured with a calm, and when there is a wind stirring hardly a sentence can be heard distinctly at a considerable distance—in the second circle you will find some weeping and others laughing; some pressing nearer the tent or tub in which the parson is sweating, bawling, jumping, and beating the desk. Others fainting with the stifling heat or wrestling to extricate themselves from the crowd; one seems very devout and serious, the next moment is scolding or cursing his neighbour for squeezing or treading on him; in one instant after his counte-

[1] *Letter from a Blacksmith to the Ministers and Elders of the Church of Scotland, in which the Manner of Publick Worship in that Church is considered, its Inconveniences and Defects pointed out, and Methods of removing them honestly proposed.* London, 1759.

nance is composing to serious gloom, and he is groaning, sighing, and weeping for his sins; in a word, there is such an absurd mixture of the serious and the comic, that were we convened for any other purpose than that of worshipping the God and governor of nature the scene would exceed any power of face." But in those days manners were rude, vulgarity did not jar on any unsensitive minds, and what a more refined age would have felt indelicate, coarse, and religiously repulsive was then considered a natural means of expressing devotion and worship.

These rude festivals, with their vast concourses, their copious preachings, continued beyond the century in several districts. There were many causes which, however, lessened their attractions. Dissent came and broke up the people into rival communities; differences of theological views arose, and those who were evangelical or "high flying," and those who were "legal" preachers or "moderates," would have no dealings with each other. The moderates discouraged all enthusiasm as being fanatical, and the communion services held under their cold charge drew no multitudes from their homes.[1] Further, the progress of agriculture interfered with the beloved open-air gatherings, for as the land became enclosed by hedges, as waste soil became tilled and covered with crops, there were fewer pleasant patches of comfortable ground beside the kirkyard, where thousands could roam or sit at a season when grain was getting ripe for harvest. It may be sordid to hint at the vast money and time wasted by the people on these gospel solemnities—the loss of earnings to peasants who were poor, the interruption to agriculture when it needed most tending—involving the cost to an impoverished country of, it was reckoned, £200,000 every year.[2]

In fact, these pious saturnalia had outlived their purpose. The ancient hereditary piety and spiritual sentiment faded, and left the coarse qualities of the peasantry without con-

[1] "Ministers vie with each other in popularity, and try who can convene the largest mob; some elders are so fond of those religious farces that they threaten to abandon their churches if the practice of preaching out of doors should be discontinued"; "other clergy want courage to oppose the popular frenzy."—*Letter of Blacksmith, etc.*

[2] *Ibid.* see *ante*, p. 161.

trol. Scenes of drinking and roystering and rustic love-making disgraced these "gospel solemnities."[1] The Holy Fairs—of which Burns's verses are no exaggeration—passed away not too soon; and when the open-air services with their vulgar accompaniment were abandoned, the quiet Fast days and devout sacraments in the country churches expressed a simpler, sedater, and more wholesome frame of piety.

VIII

The Sunday acquired in Scotland a sanctity which far exceeded that of the Sabbath of the Jews in their most Pharisaical days—equalling in austerity the Puritanism of New England, and surpassing the Puritanism of England, from which much of the Scottish superstitious veneration for the day was unhappily derived. It is a mistake, however, to believe that a "Scottish Sabbath" is a distinctive peculiarity of Presbyterianism, for it was upheld as rigorously, and breaches of it were punished as vigorously, in the reign of Episcopacy. The day was fenced about by solemn preparations. Sedateness and gravity were required specially on the Saturday night, by which time the fire was "set" for the morrow, the provisions prepared, the goodman's face was snipped with scissors, or shaved of a week's growth of hair. In the country towns and villages at six o'clock on Sabbath morning the church bell rang to waken the people for their solemn duties.[2] After family worship in early morning the household proceeded to church, and, as services began at 9 or 10 o'clock,

[1] "What must the consequences be when a whole countryside is thrown loose, and young lads and girls go home together by night in the gayest season of the year. When I was an apprentice I was a great frequenter of those occasions, and know them so well that I would not choose a wife that had frequented them, or trust a daughter too much amongst these rambling saints."—*Ibid.* p. 16; *Stat. Acct. Scot.*, Glasford, vii. 14; Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, ii. 27; Russell of Yarrow's *Reminiscences.*

[2] I arrived at Kirkcudbright on Saturday night at a good inn, but rooms where I lay had not been cleaned for a hundred years. Next day the landlord told me that they never dress a dinner on Sunday, and so that I must either take up with bread and butter or a fresh egg, or fast till after the evening service, when they never fail to have a hot supper—*Journey thro' Scotland*, p. 4; *Tour in Gt. Britain*, iv. 224.

country folk required to start early, as there lay before them long miles of walking over bog and moor.[1] Between the services—each of which lasted two or two and a half hours—those who were near home returned for a spare refreshment, for which nothing was cooked that day; others went to the ale-house, which was open on Sabbath to worshippers; while others remained in the kirkyard or in the kirk, and for their benefit two boys from the Burgh School repeated questions and answers from the Catechism. Only in the evening was there a hot meal in any home, and that supper was a welcome, longed-for boon to all, whether it consisted of kail-broth or brose in the cottages, or richer fare in mansions.

To attend church was no question of choice: it was a matter of compulsion. During services elders went out to "perlustrate" the streets, to enter change-houses, to look into windows and doors of private dwellings, and to bring deserters to kirk, or report them to the Kirk-Session. When evening came, again the vigilant patrol of elders set forth to force to their homes all who were found "vaguing," strolling, or loitering in the fields or roads. When a minister had one of his brethren preaching for him he would take the opportunity of accompanying his elders and hunt with them. For example, in 1720 the minister of Forfar[2] has much to show when he opens his bag. In one house he had found two persons drinking ale; in another he had found a man sitting with his coat off; in yet another he detected a parishioner eating his dinner. This last offender, when detected by eight awful eyes peering at him through the window, proved contumacious when summoned by the Session, and even defied the provost and magistrates when ordered to "give satisfaction" for taking his surreptitious meal. Town Councils were ever

[1] They all pray in their families before they go to church and between sermons. After sermons every one returns to his own house and reads a book of devotion till supper (which is generally very good on Sundays) till they go to bed.—*Journey through Scotland*, 27. An English traveller describes the ways at Crawford in 1704: "The service begins at 9 in the morning and continues till noon. Then the minister goes to the minch-house (ale-house), and as many as think fit refresh themselves; and the rest stay in the churchyard for half an hour, and the service is again begun and continues till 4 or 5."—*North of England and Scotland in* 1704, Edin. 1818 (privately printed).

[2] Macpherson's *Strathmore*, p. 250.

ready to assist elders and deacons in their operations against Sabbath desecrators, and sometimes themselves appointed "seizers" or "compurgators" to bring in delinquents who profaned the day by strolling or idling.[1] They might be ridiculed behind their backs for their fanatic zeal. It might be with glee told how a "seizer" in Edinburgh carried off to the City Guard the cage containing a blackbird, inadvertently left out by a cobbler on the Saturday night, which had struck up on the Sabbath its accustomed tune of "The King shall enjoy his ain again," thereby guilty of both impiety and treason. But they were dreaded all the same—these protectors of the Sabbath. There was not a place where one was free from their inquisitorial intrusion.[2] They might enter any house, and even pry into the rooms. In towns where the patrol of elders or deacons, beadle and officers, paced in solemnity the deserted causeway, eagerly eyeing every door, peering at every window, craning their necks up every wynd, the people slunk into the obscurity of shadows and kept hushed silence. So still, so empty were the streets on a Sunday night that no lamps were lighted,[3] for no passengers passed by, or if they did they had no right to walk.

Civil and ecclesiastical authorities went hand in hand in disciplinary measures. Acts of Parliament, resolutions of Town Councils, and decisions of Sheriffs supported the Church. Municipal laws in Edinburgh forbade barbers to shave the heads of gentlemen,[4] or carry their periwigs to them, on

[1] *Hist. of Edinburgh*, by H. Arnot, p. 192; *New Stat. Acct. Scot.*, Glasgow; Allan Ramsay's *Poems*. The kirk treasurer who looked after the Session money was believed to levy blackmail on the people, making his spies or his "man" threaten to report persons that they might bribe him to be silent, so that "people lie at the mercy of villains who would forswear themselves for sixpence."—Burt's *Letters from the North*, i. 193.

[2] The people of Falkirk were warned that "the elders will visit families on Sunday as they think fit, and in caice they are refused access, the civil magistrate's concurrence will be given to make patent doors." The people supported the Session, and, peering through the "dale walls" or wooden partitions between the neighbour's houses, "delaitit" what misdoings they saw—*Falkirk Records*, ii. pp. 28, 68.

[3] Gibson's *Hist. of Glasgow*, p. 115.

[4] The Town Council of Edinburgh in 1715 ordained "visitors or privy censurers for taking notice of those who vague or stroll in the streets on Sabbath days as formerly appointed." The Town Council discharged all persons from

Sabbath, under penalty; also the loitering in the streets under fine of half a rix dollar *toties quoties;* and even the idle gazing out of windows on the Lord's Day entailed a fine.

Each district had its besetting sin: in rural districts the feeding of cattle, or threshing of corn; in fishing villages the gathering of dulse on the shore, the spreading of nets, or setting out to sea before 12 o'clock on the Sunday night. On the sea-coast it was the running of goods or carrying bladders of whisky, or lending carts for smuggled goods on the Fast Day. In such places the honest efforts of office-bearers were not without danger, for sometimes they were assailed by infuriated men and women who were baulked of their prey.[1]

To carry a pail of water to the house, to fodder horses or clean their stalls, to cut kail in the yard, to grind snuff—all such offences were punished without hesitation. Nor was the minister himself free from risk of giving scandal, and he needed to walk circumspectly lest the Presbytery should suspend him for having a shoulder of mutton roasted, or for decking his peruke on the Lord's Day.[2]

carrying from house to house any kind of cloath, periwig, or shoes, or other apparel at any time of the Lord's Day under half a rix dollar to be paid by the master, and discharges all barbers and others to trim or shave any person in his shop, own house, or elsewhere; and discharges any person to stand idly in the streets, or walk in fields under penalty aforesaid"—*The King's Pious Proclamations*, 1727, p. 27. Kirk-Session of Edinburgh, 1709, "taking into consideration that the Lord's Day is profaned by people standing in the streets, vaguing in the fields and gardens, as also by idly gazing out at windows, and children and apprentices playing in the streets, warn parents, and threaten to referr to the civill magistrates for punishment, also order each Session to take its turn in watching the streets on Sabbath, as has been the laudable custom of this city, and to visit each suspected house in each parish by elders and deacons with beadle and officers, and after sermon, when the day is long, to pass through the streets and reprove such as transgress, and inform on such as do not refrain." —*Ibid.* p. 79.

[1] Ingenious expedients were adopted to evade the ecclesiastical powers, but generally unsuccessfully. "Blood letting" was the panacea for all bodily ills in past days; but elders discovered that persons pretending to be ill were addicted to resorting to an expert in the lancet, nominally to "let blood," really to drink ale and escape ordinances. "J. W. compeared before the Session, and confessed he did let blood to persons pretending necessity."—*Falkirk Records*, ii. 71.

[2] Burt's *Letters*, i. 171. The minister of New Machar was libelled before his Presbytery in 1735 for powdering his wig on the Sabbath.—P. 9, Fraser's *Thomas Reid.*

Conduct indoors was not less under restraint than behaviour outside. It was commanded that children and servants should be assembled in the evening to be catechised on the doctrines of the Confession of Faith, to be examined as to what had been said in the lecture and sermons of the day, made to repeat answers from the Catechism, to sing psalms and listen to private expounding of Scripture, and such persons as could read were required to devote themselves to perusing devout books.[1]

It is as guide to properly disposed persons that the all-popular Mr. Willison, minister of the gospel at Dundee,[2] recommended such works for Sabbath reading as Doolittle's *Call to Delaying Sinners*, Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, Allein's *Alarm*, Pearse's *Preparation for Death*, Guthrie's *Trial of a Saving Interest in Christ*, Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgments*.[3] These and others of a similar depressing type are recommended as the "most soul-searching and heart-warming pieces to be found in any human writing." According to this eminent teacher, who expresses the views of his class, "all worldly thoughts as well as works are to be dismissed"; to hear people talking in the kirkyard about the corns and markets was most sad; for "the devil is sowing his tares in the churchyard"; even asking, listening to, or telling news on that holy day is sinful. Mr. John Willison is vexed that people will not recognise that such restraint from carnal things and such employment in spiritual exercises make the Sabbath a delight. "God," he urges, "hath appointed graciously a variety of exercises on the Sabbath day, that when we are weary of one, another may be our recreation.

[1] *Question:* What is required particularly of masters on the Lord's Day? *Answer:* They are to catechise and instruct their children and their servants, read, pray, sing psalms with them; cause them repeat what they merit of publick exercises, entertain them with edifying discourses, and oblige them to a due obligation of the Sabbath both in publick and private duties required on that day.—*Short Practical Catechism*, by W. Craufurd, p. 152.

[2] *Treatise on the Sanctification of the Lord's Day*, by Rev. John Willison, 1746.

[3] As a sample of the "soul-searching" *Theatre of God's Judgments*, may be instanced the story of a certain nobleman who used to go hunting on the Lord's Day during time of sermon, and as a "judgment his wife gave birth to a child who had a head like a dog and howled like a hound."

Are you weary of hearing? then recreate yourself with prayer. If of that, recreate yourself with singing God's praises. If of that, recreate yourself with meditating. If you weary of that, recreate yourself with Christian conference, repeating sermons, instructing your families. . . . If you weary of public duties, then go to private; if of these, go to secret duties." Amidst this vortex of holy pleasures, strange to say, some people were not happy. Yet "is there not," asks the divine triumphantly, "a delightful variety of pleasant and spiritual employment without needing the help of any sensual diversion to put off the time of this blessed day?" and he ends with the conclusive question: "How think you to spend a whole eternity in spiritual exercises when you weary so much of one day?" But further than all this, there is not an action during that day—not a moment, from the instant the Christian awakes in the morning as the birds begin to chirp—when his soul may not find occasion for fruitful meditation. As you put on your clothes think of the soul's nakedness, and need of the robes of imputed righteousness, and reflect that it is God's wool and flax you wear. As you comb your head think of your sins, which are more than the hairs thereon. When you sit at supper, think of the joy of supping with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. In short, there is not a minute when the believer may not meditate, pray, and break into holy ejaculation till the day ends. Then, as you see yourself stripped of clothing, think "Naked came I into the world, and naked shall I return," and let your lying down in bed and covering yourself with blankets put you in mind of your lying in the cold grave and being covered with earth. With such cheerful occupations and genial reflections the Christian may pass to peaceful slumbers and holy dreams—or nightmares. Such were the counsels given by a typical evangelical minister in a book which had a chosen place in thousands of households,[1] beside his precious manual *The Afflicted Man's Companion.*

[1] Such are the holy performances of eminent Christians of the period. See *Diary of George Brown*, merchant, 1745-1753, privately printed. "Sabbath Day, Nov. 3.—Rose a little after 7 in the morning; fair, wind east, then prayed and then joined in family worship, and then read the 2nd chap. of Job. When I arose I found my heart very much out of order for the duties of the Sabbath. . . . I went to God by prayer, and under great confusion made

This was the ideal; but what was the sad reality? Some years before the Presbytery of Edinburgh were sadly compelled to denounce "the great number who took an unaccountable liberty in despising and profaning the Lord's Day idly and wickedly, by standing in companies in streets misspending the time in idle discourse, and in useless communications wholly alien to the true design of the day;" as well as those "who immediately before public worship and then after it is over take recreations in walking in the fields, links, meadows, and other places, and by entering taverns, ale-houses, and milk-houses, drink, tiple, or otherwise spend any part thereof, or by giving or receiving social visits, or by idly gazing out of windows beholding vanities abroad—an indication not only of levity, but a profane neglect of the fittest time to salvation work."[1] The Presbytery therefore charged "all who are guilty of the aforementioned instances, as they would not bring down the wrath of God upon themselves and the land, that they seriously reform," and warned those guilty of their liability to the censures of the Church. They "obtest all whomsoever in the bowels of Christ as they would find mercy through Him that they keep the Sabbath holy." Such was the teaching of the Church, and such were the practices of the regardless.[2]

School children were under a supervision as rigorous on Sunday as on any week day. In the morning the boys at

known my conduct to Him. . . . Went to North West Church and heard Mr. M'Laurin lecture and preach. In the interval of publick worship I reflected on what I had been hearing, and wrote down some heads of the sermon. Went to church in the afternoon; heard sermon on same text as forenoon; returned and thought over the sermon till 5 o'clock at night; then joined in family worship; then supped and retired, and thought again over the sermon, and wrote down heads of it. Then I called on the Lord by prayer, and rose and went and joined in family worship again. Then I retired again, and read the 2nd chap. of Romans over several times. I concluded the Sabbath with humble confession of sin, thankfulness to God for actions of the Sabbath. . . . Then I committed my soul and all my concerns to God, and went to bed at 12 o'clock at night."—Pp. 8, 10.

[1] Arnot's *Hist. of Edinburgh.*

[2] In 1699 Katrine M'Mullar charged with grinding snuff on Sabbath. She flatly denied it; there being no witnesses to prove it, she was dismissed for this; but in respect she was a stranger from Lorn, she was desired to produce a testimonial. She told she had none; therefore she was enjoyned to get one ere Candlemas, otherwise to leave the parish.—Hewison's *Old Bute*, ii. 274.

grammar schools met there for prayer and praise; and were then marshalled to kirk, where they sat in "loft" or gallery under the eye and sometimes the pole of the master. After the second service they were marched back to school; examined closely on the minister's discourses; and after further prayer they were allowed to return home, where more troubles and instructions awaited them. For even throughout the remainder of the day the master was required to watch lest his pupils should go out of doors or stroll in woods or lanes. In this way the Lord's Day came to its slow and longed-for conclusion.

IX

Ecclesiastical authority over the morals of the community was wielded in the early part of the century with almost undisputed sway. The lynx eyes of elders and deacons, to whom were assigned the spiritual superintendence of different parts of the parish, both to watch and to pray, were alert in every corner. Every rumour, every suspicion of ill-doing was reported to the Kirk-Session, and evidence of the most inquisitive kind was taken;[1] and if the inquiry was too delicate even for elders, matrons were appointed to examine and give their testimony. Immorality was rife in spite of the terror of the Church, and culprits had to pay their fines graduated according to the heinousness and frequency of the offence, the lowest being £4 Scots. Offenders had to stand "at the pillory"—a raised platform or a stool in front of the pulpit, clad in a cloak of sackcloth—and each day to be admonished by the minister until he was satisfied of their penitence. For gravest scandal persons were required to appear for ten, fifteen—and, in some cases, for even twenty-six Sundays—in succession, where they went through the terrible ordeal of facing the congregation, and receiving rebukes from the minister for half

[1] It is curious to observe that any person who begged was disqualified as a witness. In Jany. 5, 1715, in a case one witness is objected to because she is a known beggar; that she begs for her father, has asked charity from Kirkbride Session for burying her daughter, and at several other times, and therefore "was not worth the King's unlaw." The Presbytery dismissed her, "she not being a habile witness."—*Minutes of Penpont Presbytery.*

a year. The worst offences were dealt with more severely still; the guilty parties being required by the Presbytery to appear in the various churches in their bounds in turn, and to make what was called the "circular satisfaction."[1] In former times—even under Episcopacy—they had been condemned to appear[2]—perhaps for fifteen Sundays—to stand in sackcloth at the church door, bare-legged, in a tub of water, as the congregation were assembling, and thereafter during service take their station on the stool.[3] This extreme penalty of the tub of water was disused in the eighteenth century, though not the punishment of standing at the church door. Sometimes it happened that as many as eight or ten offenders were standing on the pillory at once, each undergoing his or her period of making "satisfaction"; and even on the communion day this scandalous ordeal against scandal was undergone. So seldom was "fautor's loft" or defaulter's pillory vacant, that some Kirk-Session records specially chronicle: "No case of discipline to day." Highly significant is the reason given in the old Session books of Ettrick, for voting money to buy a "new sacco" (gown) for penitents: "Yarrow having borrowed the gown, and used it to raggs."[4] It was a source of immense interest and pleasure for the congregation to watch the appearance and behaviour of their neighbours in disgrace. Smiles, smirks, and whispers passed from one to another, as well-known faces appeared in the place of ignominy. Young Jacobite lairds came to the kirk to enjoy the entertainment, which rendered the service less dreary and the Sabbath a delight. On these

[1] Killearn Kirk-Session, in 1694, "finds the old use and wont of parish amount (*i.e.*, in Episcopal days) to be paid by persons guilty of fornication, for the first tyme to pay 10 merks, viz. the man 4 poundis, and the woman 4 poundis, this amount therefore the sameyne to be paid by delinquents in all tyme coming."—Smith's *Strathendrick*, p. 60. In Banffshire £4 Scots for first offence, £8 for second, and £20 or £40 for adultery. From 1701-1714 the fines produce to poor-box, £999 Scots.—Cramond's *Illegitimacy in Banffshire*. Elgin Session records in 1717 record: "J. W. on pillory pro duodecim."—*Elgin Records*, p. 166. Mill of Dunrossness exacts twenty-six days on pillory as penance in 1777.—Cramond's *Illegitimacy in Banffshire; Old Church Chronicle*, by Waddell, p. 151.

[2] 1715, Fraser's *Wigton Sketches*.

[3] Cramond's *Presbytery of Fordyce*, p. 64.

[4] 1697, Craig's *Hist. of Selkirkshire*. In Banff, about 1754, four offenders were usually standing together each Sunday on pillory.—ii. 77, *Annals of Banff*, New Spalding Society.

occasions the comparatively innocent suffered most and the shameless suffered little. Frequent cases occurred where, rather than face the trial, delinquents fled the country,[1] some committed suicide, and many girls in their terror destroyed their offspring in the hope of concealing their fault.[2] Child murder, in fact, became a crime of terrible frequency. Scots Parliament had passed laws of great rigour to suppress so prevalent a form of murder—laws which the General Assembly at times ordered the ministers to read from their pulpits throughout the country in solemn warning. Yet the criminal records contain very many executions of poor creatures—several being hanged on occasions in batches at one time—and the cause of their crime was too frequently the dread of facing the disgrace and terrible ordeals of the Church.[3] This is the charge against these cruel ecclesiastical ordeals confirmed by evidence in every part of the country. If an offence could not be proved, and the supposed father denied paternity, he was forced to take the oath of purgation before the congregation—in some places made to place his hand on the head of the child—protesting "before the great God, and Jesus Christ, and the angels, wishing that all the curses of the law and the woes of the gospel should fall upon him, that he may never thrive in this

[1] In 1693 a cobbler, ordered "to buy ane sack gown" to stand in at the kirk door to appear before the congregation, went "raving mad."—*Leaves from the Book of the West Kirk, Edinburgh*, by G. Lorimer.

[2] "Four women, condemned to death for child murder on one day, declared that the dread of the pillory was the cause of their crime."—Arnot's *Hist. of Edin.* 193; Maitland's *Hist. of Edinburgh*, 1758, p. 282; Arnot's *Criminal Trials*, p. 350. Between 1700-6, twenty-one convictions in Edin.

[3] Act against concealment of pregnancy, 1690. So late as 1751, General Assembly ordered this Act to be read from pulpits owing to prevalence of child murder.—Morren's *Annals of Assembly*, ii. 219; *Scottish Jonrnal*, i. 299, 313; Reid's *Cameronian Apostle*, p. 100; *Black Kalendar of Aberdeen;* Cromek's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song;* Stewart's *Sketches of Highlands*, 1822, ii. xxxiv. It was the fear that they should "with Kirk-censure grapple,"

> Whilk gart some aft their leeful lane
> Bring to the warld the luckless wean
> And sneg its infant thrapple.
>
> Allan Ramsay's *Poems*, i. 260, 1777.

"The idea that this appearance for scandal causes child murder, and that the Scottish women are the greatest infanticides in the world, has induced the greatest part of the clergy to lay this part of Church discipline aside."—*Travels of Rev. James Hall*, ii. 351; Arnot's *Criminal Trials*, p. 311.

world, and that his conscience may henceforth never give him rest, and torment him as it did Cain, and that he may never hope for mercy, but die in desperation, and in the great day be cast into hell if the oath he hath sworn be not true from the heart."[1] Though some, greatly daring, took this protestation with a lie on their lips; the dread of it wrung confession from many whom nothing else could terrify into truth. If, on the other hand, the Session doubted the testimony of the woman regarding the paternity of her unborn child, the Session called in the services of women, who should go to her house, and when she was in the pangs of childbirth question her as under the fear of death, so that she may speak the truth before God.[2]

Contumacy and refusal to obey the orders of Presbytery to stand rebuke incurred the dread sentence of greater excommunication,—this involved the mysterious "being delivered over to Satan," banishment from the church, and denial of its sacraments. This rendered the delinquent an outcast from society, marked him with the brand of infamy, and was so potent a judgment that the most obdurate often gave in at last, and consented to give whatever "satisfaction" was demanded. The Church had far-reaching powers, for if a suspected person refused to compear before the Presbytery it called in the authority of the sheriff; and even if a delinquent refused to take the rebuke except from his seat, ecclesiastical authorities threatened that they would apply to the magistrates to compel him to stand "at the pillar."[3]

Sins the most heinous, and offences the most trivial, were

[1] Paterson's *History of Ayrshire*, i. 194. In 1743 a "man called to the pulpit foot, and interrogated, took God to witness that he was innocent. The minister read the oath, and bade him put his hand on the child's head; whereupon the woman in the most hideous and lamentable manner cryed out in the face of the congregation not to take the oath as he was guilty."—Cramond's *Parish of Ordiquill.*

[2] When doubtful as to the woman's statement to the paternity of an unborn child, the Session, by order of Presbytery of Penpont in 1701, direct that "she be strictly questioned in her pangs by the women who shall be present." These are afterwards summoned by Session, and midwife swears that the woman "took solemn imprecations on herself that she had no other to lay the child to but whom she laid it to already."—*Morton Kirk-Session Records*, Feb. 1701.

[3] Jan. 23, 1704.—*Ibid.*

treated with equal gravity. In all cases the most deliberate proceedings were taken; meeting after meeting was convened for the most unimportant transactions; parties were called, witnesses summoned, put upon oath, purged of malice, and warned to give their testimony with "ingenuity." To have carried a pair of shoes on a Fast Day, to have whistled, or walked on the roads, and pulled a turnip in the garden, incurred heavy censure, a fine, or appearance in the pillory. Even to have carried a can of water to a sick person was treated as a profanation of the Sabbath, and the use of hasty words in which "devil" or "God" was wantonly uttered, was matter of grave inquiry and sessional discipline. Until the man who had carried a load of meal on a horse on the Fast Day, or had been guilty of rash swearing or scolding, had given satisfaction therefor, he was not allowed "to hold up" his child for whom he desired baptism, and was ordered to get a sponsor to do so instead.[1]

A great part of the time and anxiety was devoted to examining charges of flyting, "horrid swearing," cursing, brawling, and fighting in the first half of the century—yielding abundant evidence of the rudeness of manners and coarseness of life amongst the country people.[2] The women seem to have been the most flagrant delinquents in uttering what were called "terrible imprecations." Harmless and highly appropriate enough were many of the abusive terms they applied; but the reason why swearing and cursing were regarded so seriously was the superstitious belief shared in by elders, and not rejected by the minister, that the imprecation of a scold, like the menace of a witch, might be carried out by agency of the devil. When a fisher's wife picturesquely prayed that her neighbour "might have a cold armful of her husband," this was punished, not because it was malicious, but

[1] *Morton Kirk-Session Records.*

[2] In Episcopal days Archbishop Leighton speaks of this as the "most crying sin." In 1667, in his charge, he orders his clergy to suppress profaneness, particularly the most common and crying sins, as drinking, cursing, swearing, bitter speaking, and rotten filthy speaking as usual amongst the common sort in their homes and field labour together, particularly in harvest."—*Works*, 343. In 1705, Town Council of Dumbarton hold weekly meetings for punishment of cursing, swearing, Sabbath breaking, scolding, excessive drink, night walking, scandalising the neighbour's good name, unseemly bearing, etc.—Irving's *Dumbartonshire*, 1820, p. 504; G. Smith's *Strathendrick*, p. 85.

because it was murderous. If the man was drowned the death was attributed to the termagant's curse. Sessions fine the utterer of such heinous epithets as a "witch-faced carlin," or a "brazen-faced quean"; and after devoting twelve serious meetings of examination on a case where a woman had said, "Devil take you," sentence her to the pillory. While the "terrible expression," which a woman uttered—"Deil tak the skin off you and make a winnock [window] in hell with it"—is punished with greater excommunication; so that the minister himself curiously delivered the woman "over to Satan," because she had consigned her neighbour to the same custody. This shows that cursing was a monopoly claimed by the Church.[1]

The Sessions had to deal with cases of brawling, even in the precincts of the kirk—worshippers disputing and fighting with each other with stools, and for the possession of them, before fixed seats were made; and also for throwing "clods" on the people.[2] These scenes are frequent in the early part of the century, and reveal still further the strikingly rude and rough manners of the common people. Drunkenness is an offence which appears curiously seldom in the older records, and came before the Sessions chiefly as conjoined with swearing and fighting. Doubtless the ale, which was the sole drink of the peasantry, was not so potent as the whisky that came into vogue after 1750; though change-houses for the sale of "two-penny" abounded even in the smallest village. But probably

[1] Anton's *Kilsyth*, 117-9. Kirk-Session of Rathven, in 1747, deals "with a woman who curses a man with her face to the sun, wishing his death."—P. 67, Cramond's *Church of Rathven;* Wodrow's *Analecta*, i. 153.

[2] For instance, in 1723 it is reported in Keith, "that A. G. and J. R. had been guilty of unseemly behaviour in laughing and throwing clods and stones in time of worship, and of cutting and giving one another apples in church; for which they appear four times before the Session meetings, and pay 40s. Scots."—Gordon's *Chronicles of Keith*, p. 100. In 1727 at Fordyce, women for grappling together during divine service, ordered appear without their plaids and gowns over their heads after service before the pulpit, to be rebuked, and be fined 4 merks.—Cramond's *Church of Fordyce*, p. 57. In 1701, Session of Dunblane, considering that herds and boys do make disturbance during divine service in the lofts, appoint the thesaurer to cause make a lash with a long handle, having several rungs.—*Scot. Antiquary*, v. 82. In 1721 Court of Regality passes "Act against dropping stones and divots from common loft upon people below."—Cramond's *Presbytery of Fordyce.*

a stronger reason for not treating drunkenness with grave severity was the fact that drinking was the common, the venial sin of the time. Every gentleman would have been constantly at the pillory had it been punished, and that would have been very awkward for the elders (not themselves quite innocent), who if farmers were more afraid of offending the gentry than the gentry were of the Session.

No more common source of hurt to good morals existed in those days than the favourite gatherings at "penny weddings." The rural classes in those gloomy days had few social pleasures, and what they had were forbidden ones. They were extremely poor; they had no means wherewith to furnish forth the entertainment at a bridal; and it was the custom of the country for friends and neighbours to subscribe money—originally one penny each—to provide food, drink, and fiddler. Scandals undoubtedly attended these gatherings; drinking, rioting, and immorality were the constant accompaniments and consequences. The General Assembly passed stringent Acts against "promiscious dancing"; Kirk-Sessions attacked those meetings and all who took part in them—musicians and dancers alike. To be found in possession of a fiddle involved a summons to the Church court; while to have played at gatherings where there had been promiscuous dancing entailed a penalty of £20 Scots for each offence, and all persons participating in them were sometimes refused "sealing ordinances" or communion. One of the most effective measures to prevent these heinous assemblies was that which Kirk-Sessions adopted, of making each person before being proclaimed for marriage deposit a pledge, or "pawn"—some piece of money or article of clothing, or spoons,—which should be forfeited if a penny wedding took place. A southern Session thus expresses in 1715 its emotions: "Considering that the great abuse that is committing at wedding dinners, and in particular by promiscuous dancing betwixt young men and young women, which is most abominable, not to be practised in a land of light, and condemned in former time of Presbytery as not only unnecessary but sensuall, being only an inlet of lust and provocation to uncleanness through the corruptions of men and women in this loose and degenerate age, wherein

the devil seems to be raging by a spirit of uncleanness and profanity, making such practices an occasion to the flesh, and thereby drawing men and women to dishonour God, ruine their own souls, and cast reproach upon the holy ways of religion," the Session "ordain, that whoever shall suffer promiscuous dancing at their bridals, either free or penny weddings, shall forfeit three dollars, and the persons so dancing shall be rebuked before the congregation."[1] There is no evidence, however, that these austere ministers or elders ever fined lairds or guests at the mansions for promiscuous dancing at their weddings and their balls.

Many other matters came under the cognisance of the ever busy ecclesiastical authorities. Most conspicuous of these were charges of "trafficking with Satan." Superstition was spread amongst all classes; there was not an event of their lives, from birth to death, which was free from it; omens were seen in a myriad coincidences, charms were used to ward off every form of evil. Some superstitions were relics of paganism, others were relics of Popish days, while many were due to those instinctive fears and associations with mysterious events of nature common to humanity everywhere. Curious beliefs of all sorts meet us in the old Church records, which embalm so many forms of olden life. One man takes his child to a smith to "be threatened with a hammer" to charm away sickness; a woman is called in to a sick-bed, where she pronounces the words: "If God hath taken away the health, let Him restore it; and if the devil hath taken it, let him restore it," on which the person recovered.[2] A man is charged with putting above his door hot stones to remove his child's illness,[3] "whereby through the judgment of God the house and plenishing were burnt to ashes, the hot stones taking fire in the thack." Charmers and sorcerers in many a remote parish drove a thriving, though perilous, business.

[1] *Kirk-Session of Morton.*

[2] *Irongray Session Records*, 1692. In Balfron, 1700, April.—"This day J. B. appeared in face of the congregation, confessed his sin in consulting Donald Ferguson, the charmer, for the relieff of his children, whereby he cast off much of the fear of God and yielded to Satan."—Smith's *Strathendrick*, p. 61.

[3] Aberdour in 1702, *Scottish Notes and Queries*, Feb. 1894.

Witchcraft, above all, was looked upon with horror and profound belief in the first quarter of the century. Every whisper of the "trafficking with Satan" was heard with awful eagerness, and evidence was brought to the Kirk-Session of every suspicious circumstance. In one case a witness asserts that, passing an old lone woman's house, she looked in at the door, and saw a wheel spinning without any visible power touching it; another tells that she had given this woman some chaff, "with which she was not satisfied, and a day after the witness's cow gave no milk to her child, who decayed and vanished to a shadow, and her cow took distemper"; a third testifies that she heard a terrible noise which the woman alleged was only a clocking hen; and yet a fourth relates that she saw "a candle going through the door and nobody holding it."[1] It was this old woman's good fortune to be allowed to claim the Act of banishment, and she disappeared with her life. Another Session proves the charge against a witch on the evidence of two persons; one of whom stated that his wife, having a dispute with her four days before, took a dreadful stitch through her as if she was stricken with a whinzie or knife, and continued in great pain till she died; the other stated that having refused the suspected witch alms, all the milk got a loathsome smell, and she herself fell sick, "and was like a daft body for eight days after."[2] On such testimony the accused was condemned, but the poor wretch claiming Act of banishment—that merciful alternative of Scots law—was sent off under pain of death if she returned. To be ugly and old, to be withered and morose, to live aloof from others, to be unsocial and ill-tempered and ill-tongued, were sufficient qualities to raise suspicions of trafficking with Satan; angry words were turned to malisons, and sullen looks were proofs of the evil eye. Every trouble was laid to her fault: if hens laid no eggs, if cows gave less milk, if children became sickly, she might be consigned to jail for years, longing for death, and only escape burning by banishment.[3] Many clergymen were as credulous as their elders, who were chosen from

[1] In Kirkcudbright, 1701, *Hist. of Galloway*, ii.
[2] In Twynholm, 1703, *ibid.*, ii.
[3] *Hist. of Galloway*, ii. 343.

representative classes of the people, chiefly lairds and farmers. Brought before the serious conclave of the Session, its earnest prayers, its solemn oaths, its awful warnings, a woman confronted there by witnesses and threatened with the terror of her sin, was often driven to own an impossible crime—intercourse with the devil, strange midnight dances, marvellous transformations into forms of cats and dogs. She would give minute descriptions of the devil's personal appearance, not always consistent, but drawn from her simple fancy of what was marvellous and grand attire. She involved neighbours in her diabolic plight, according as she saw the tribunal's suspicions tended. Half-demented, wholly panic-stricken, everything asked would be owned by her, and that she should afterwards unsay her words and withdraw her confession only added to her guilt. Elsewhere we speak of the trials for witchcraft ending in death, which were instigated by the people and encouraged by the Church. Undoubtedly these beliefs in witchcraft and examinations into scandal regarding it lasted longer among the courts of the Church than the courts of Law, and after civil authorities refused to consider them, the ecclesiastical authorities—fortunately, however, deprived of all real power—were still deeply engaged in their futile investigations.[1] But they could not hang, or burn, or imprison the poor hags; they could only punish them by excommunication

[1] The Presbytery of Mid Calder in 1720, being "informed that a most respectable family in West Calder was infested with witchcraft, and that a woman had confessed her guilt. . . . A committee appointed for prayer and consultation recommends each of the brethren to put up solemn petitions to God in behalf of the said family, and that each of the brethren attend the said family as they shall be called."—*Hist. of Mid Calder*, p. 234. The son of Lord Torphichen was considered bewitched because the boy fell into trances from which horse-whipping could not rouse him; his renal secretion was black as ink, he saw strange flashes of light, could tell what happened twenty miles away, and was liable to be carried away through the air if not held back by those who kept watch. One day he got to the door "and was lifted in the air, but catched by the heels and coat tails and brought back." A "miserable brutishly ignorant woman" was accused of diabolic incantations, and she being put into prison owned her guilt; another woman confessed that she had given the devil the body of her dead child to make a roast of, and other tremendous and impossible crimes. The time was not too late for superstition and credulity and a public fast, but, fortunately, it was too late for trials and execution for witchcraft in Midlothian. — Introduction to Sinclair's *Satan's Invisible World Displayed*.

or rebuke for uttering "imprecations," and for charming and swearing. In 1736 the Act against witchcraft was repealed, and the clergy and educated classes generally had given up their old belief in the crime; though the Seceding ministers denounced the repeal of this ancient Act as a godless deed, as a repudiation of the command of Scripture not to allow a witch to live. Long the belief lasted amongst the peasantry, and the Kirk-Session afterwards had to deal with those who superstitiously sought to avert witchcraft just as they had formerly done with those who maliciously practised it. People were summoned for being guilty of scratching or "scoring above the breath," under the belief that if a witch was cut on the forehead with the sign of the cross the power of Satan would be broken.[1]

In those days there was oversight exercised in every part of existence and every day of man's life. Every night, at nine o'clock or ten o'clock, elders went through the streets to see if any one loitered on the way; they entered the taverns and dismissed the occupants home, a practice which originated a well-known phrase, "elders' hours." Yet in spite of all precautions there were frequent clamant complaints by Synods and Town Councils at the deplorable condition of society—"at the abounding vice, immorality, particularly horrid swearing, breach of the Lord's Day, drunkenness, uncleanness, mocking at religion and religious exercises." Whether these tirades were due to the over-scrupulosity of the pious or really to the wickedness of the people, it is difficult to decide. An unpleasant feature in these olden days of discipline is the inequality of sentences. There was a leniency to the rich which was not shown to the poor. The ploughman might be made to stand fifteen Sundays exposed to the merriment of the congregation and the solemnity of the minister, while the laird, though he might condescend to

[1] Somerville's *Own Life*, p. 366; *Scottish Journal*, i. 364. In 1706 the Presbytery of Penpont is engaged at their meetings from January to March with the case of Mr. Peter Rae of Kirkbride, slandered by a woman who alleged that he called her a "witch," and when sick said to her, "They say you have my health, so give it again if you have it," and also called her to come near hand him, and when she came he presently bled her on the forrit (forehead). It was proved that Mr. Rae did call her a witch, and did in his illness endeavour to draw blood from her brow, for which he was rebuked.—*Records of Penpont Presbytery.*

appear privately before the Session, refused flatly to stand in the pillory, and was let off with a fine of meal or money for the poor, which he paid with a laugh, and then took his place in his loft to watch his less lucky fellow-delinquents on the stool. This inequality was not always due to the clergyman —who might be impartial enough—but to the elders who, if not fellow-lairds, were tenants on his ground or dependent on his favour, and feared to incur his displeasure. "What in the captain is a choleric word, in the soldier is flat blasphemy."[1] In all these severe and inquisitorial proceedings it is often overlooked that the fanaticism was more in the elders than in the minister, who presided at the meetings, and carried out the verdict of the laymen.

When the crimes and vices of the laity were treated with rigour, those of the ministers were not dealt with lightly. For any indiscretion they stood the sentence of their Presbytery, and they had also to make their repentance before their people. When a minister was deposed for drunkenness he was obliged to appear in his own church, where for six successive Sundays he was rebuked by six several old co-presbyters; and a minister deposed for immorality was made to stand six Sabbaths before the congregation clad in sackcloth; or in the various parish churches within the bounds.[2] No charge, however trivial, could be ignored. A Presbytery in Dumfriesshire spent months of 1715 in investigating the charge against the minister of Kirkbride who had a printing machine in his manse, the charge being that he had printed copies of the profane song called "Maggie Lauder."[3]

[1] "I perceived the poor only suffered by these Church censures, for a piece of money will save a man here from the stool of repentance as much as in England."—*Journey through Scotland*, 1726, p. 230. Appearance in place of penance sometimes commuted to money or meal. For five bolls of meal a gentleman culprit allowed to sit in his own seat to receive rebuke.—Edgar's *Old Church Life*, i. 542; Burt, i. 185:—"Young rakes get off with composition in money." That the people saw this unfairness is seen in their chapbooks and folk songs: *e.g.*, in "Oh, mither dear, I gin to fear."

> Now Tam maun face the minister,
> And she maun mount the pillar,
> And that's the way that they maun gae
> For poor folk hae nae siller.

[2] Scott's *Fasti*, ii. 657; Cramond's *Cullen*, p. 139.

[3] *Penpont Presbytery Records*, 1715. It was proved that the copies of the

Ever and again, when need arose, there were held Presbyterial visitations of churches; in some districts they took place every year, for the design was to promote peace and order in the parishes, and to secure diligence in fellowship in all various parts of the congregation and faithfulness in the minister. After the "visitants" from the Presbytery arrived service was held in the kirk, when the minister preached his "ordinary," so that his brethren might judge of his "painfulness and his doctrine." When he had left the building, heritors, elders, heads of families in their several turns, were called in and questioned as to the behaviour of each other, and especially of their pastor. Such questions as these might be put: "Is he constant in his calling, or is Saturday his only book-day? Does he restrain penny bridals? Does he censure keepers of superstitious days? Has he a gospel walk? Does he preach sound doctrine and study to be powerful and spiritual in his ministrations? Such interrogations were put to the various parties, searching enough, though not so inquisitive as those which were common in still earlier days, when the queries were: "Is he a dancer, carder, or dicer? Is he a frequenter of ale-houses? Is he a swearer of small or minced oaths? Useth he to say, 'Before God it is so,' or in his common conference 'I protest,' or 'I protest before God'? or says he, 'Lord, what is that?'—all of which are more than yea and nay."[1] If these questions were no longer asked, testimony as to such offences might be freely given. For every flaw could be pointed out, every grievance uttered when the parish

song were taken off "the irons" by a parishioner and the minister's son while Mr. Peter Rae, the accused, was from home. Rae was a man of ingenuity, as well as of literary pretensions, and some local histories by him remain still in manuscript. A watchmaker's son, he made a clock of wondrous mechanism and versatility—still standing in the Drumlanrig staircase. Tradition says it was turned out of Kirkbride manse for playing the tune of "Maggie Lauder" on a Sabbath. The song, the age of which is debated, was then evidently novel.

[1] Stewart of Pardovan's *Collections*. In 1717 there is a visitation of parish. "The minister having preached his ordinary, Matt. xxviii. 5, to consider doctrine. The minister removed, elders and heads of families called. Interrogated if the minister had a gospel walk, if he kept much at home and gave attendance to reading and prayer, if he preached sound doctrine and studied to be powerful in his ministrations, if he did visit families as need is." —Cramond's *Church of Ordiquill*, p. 18. Similar queries were put in 1677, during a visitation in Episcopal days.

minister had retired to his manse—leaving, like Sir Peter Teazle, his character behind him. When he returned after the ordeal of question was over, he might possibly hear that the parishioners had expressed their satisfaction with his ministrations, or more probably he would learn that he has been accused of being "lifeless, wanting in reverence, and languid in delivery," that he has used "wanton and ill-advised expressions," that he has been heard on the Sabbath "to hiss to his dog to pursue the sheep, and been even observed to set up one or two fallen sheaves in the field with his hand or foot." Some might complain he does not visit them in sickness, or that he too often changes his ordinary.[1] Then came the minister's turn to be examined as to the conduct of his critics—heritors, elders, parishioners, and beadle. If he had nothing to object they were all called in and "encouraged to proceed in the work of the Lord."

These inquisitions did vastly more harm than good.[2] They were dangerous weapons to put in the hands of every malcontent who had a grudge to gratify or a fanatical grievance to express, with the risk of making a clergyman's life a burden to him and his congregation a terror. As the century went on these old visitations were gradually dropped, as they were found to be mere sources of trouble and discontent, interesting only to busybodies in the Church courts and grumblers in the pews.

X

Religious observances attended the simplest acts of social life—not probably with much meaning, but as traditional customs from more fervent ages.

English travellers at the early part of the century were much amused at the frankly pious practices of the people. No

[1] Fergusson's *Laird of Lag*, p. 250; *Record of Committee of Synod of Galloway in* 1697. In 1707, amongst other objections to their minister the parishioners state that "he doth often change his text, and doth not raise many heads, and doth not prosecute such as he names, but scraffs them."—Edgar's *Old Church Life*, i. 99.

[2] The Presbytery of Ayr in 1750 renewed the discredited practice.—Edgar's *Old Church Life*.

refreshment, however slight, could be partaken without a formal blessing being asked.[1] Drinking a glass of ale was preluded by a grace; the progress of a dram to the lips was suspended by the utterance of a prayer—sometimes of no mean dimensions. This custom, common alike to Episcopalians and to Presbyterians, was witnessed with curiosity by Mr. Thomas Kirke as he visited Archbishop Paterson and Principal Stirling of Glasgow, when the host called for ale and wine, and pulling off his hat "made a grace, and so fell to." "If," records this Yorkshire squire, astonished at such superfluity of piety,—"if you crack a nut with them, there is a grace for that; drink a cup of coffee, ale, or wine, and what else, he presently furnishes a grace for the nonce." When friends met at a change-house each bowed to the other complimentarily to ask the blessing, and a prayer, long drawn out with accents suitable, sanctified the drink as they drained the glass. The man who wished to sell a broken-winded horse plausibly imposed upon his customer by the length and fervour with which he said grace over the gill of ale which was to moisten the transaction. Friends at an alehouse often winced as the prolix blessing was pronounced over the glass which they thirsted to drink, and sometimes when the friend who had "engaged in prayer" opened his eyes he found the glass had been emptied during his devotional exercise. Mr. Adam Petrie, in his delightfully simple *Rules of Good Deportment*, complains of the irregular and irreligious trafficking of coffee, tea, and chocolate.[2] "I call it irreligious, because I observe in coffee-houses not one of a hundred asks a blessing to it, as if it needed no blessing, nor yet thanks. We should not so much as take a drink of water or eat fruit without blessing

[1] Kirke's *Tour*, p. 46; Kirke's *Modern Account* in Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*, p. 257; Sir James Turner's *Memoirs*, p. 143; Burt's *Letters from North*, i. 177; Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriff*, p. 592; Strang's *Clubs of Glasgow*, p. 205.

[2] *Rules of Good Deportment*, by Adam Petrie, Edin. 1720. Going to the house of a man whose behaviour was under suspicion, the minister of Dunrossness in 1778 writes: "After baptism he brought a dram . . . offering to take it without a blessing, I checked him. . . . I am afraid that soon forgetting what had been told him he gave lose to daft mirth, and going out, was struck dead."—Mill's *Diary*, p. 84. Bishop Forbes in 1762 is bade by the Lady Sinclair of Dunreth to say grace over his dram, all present standing as he did so.—Bishop Forbes's *Journal*, p. 207. Carlyle's *Autobiography*, p. 24.

God, from whom we have his good creatures." This was the theory, and generally the practice, of the sedate and godly of these days, and indeed it was the common custom, as far as liquor was concerned, of society in Scotland.

When so much religion was expended over the drinks of the day, and uttered in prolonged graces at meals till the meat grew cold and the company got hot, it was not omitted in the family. It was enjoined by the Church that there should be "family exercises" every day. Before the communion the minister made careful inquiries whether such were held in every household, and he that was not faithful in having them was debarred from the Lord's Table.[1] Rumours came at times to the ears of the General Assembly that even elders—such as Duncan Forbes of Culloden—had lapsed from this duty, and they made their enactment that those who neglected it should be disqualified from being members of Assembly. More and more a practice which had been universal in Scotland became less and less regarded; until it was retained only by old sedate-customed people, gentry and peasantry, and most carefully observed in the once Covenanting districts where the farmers still wore the broad black bonnets of the ancient fashion.[2] That it was only on Saturday night that the big ha' Bible should be produced was a declension from olden piety, and the "Cottar's Saturday Night" scene, which is so much to modern minds an idyllic picture of piety, would have been regarded by the antediluvians and advanced Christians of an earlier generation as but a meagre worship and mark of falling from grace.

In the early decades of the century the intense religious fervour and faith which characterised the covenanting days retained all its influence and hold over great masses of the people of all classes, and the belief in the potency of prayer and in the constant interference of Providence with every act

[1] Wodrow's *Correspondence*, i. 17; *Acts of Assembly*, 1712.

[2] "My late friend, the facetious Sir Hew Dalrymple, used to say that he had watched its decay, and following the fate of the large black bonnets, it had fallen off as that had diminished in size, and changed colour from black to simple blue. . . . Certain it is that the practice is most general amongst those farmers about Bathgate and Carnwath Muir who preserve the use of its primitive colour and magnitude."—"Comparative View of Farmers 50 years ago and at present, by a Heritor" [George Hepburn], *Farmer's Magazine*, Nov. 1804.

of existence, however minute, was unbounded.[1] Naturally, this phase of faith was most shown by the ministers and devout. Whenever they are in doubt about any action—whether to go a journey, or where to choose a text—they pray. They retreat to the orchard, to a barn, to their book-room, and pour forth, with touching confidence, their little cares.[2] Mr. Robert Wodrow tells often of saintly people who spent their days in "wrestling" incessantly, and how his excellent father prayed ten times a day, and spent two hours every day in his exercises—a usual time to devote. Far surpassing this, however, was the practice of Mr. Hew Fulton—"one of the greatest wrestlers I have ever known," remarks the admiring minister of Eastwood,—"it had been his ordinary to spend eight or nine hours every day in immediate prayer." It was expected that any religiously disposed gentleman would retire at certain periods of the day for private meditation, and this was the wont of that sensual saint Lord Grange. Every country house had its small room, or closet, used as an oratory,[3] and in high flats of Edinburgh there was one tiny closet built off the dining-room, to which the head of the household withdrew for his devotions. Even the flat occupied in Riddel's Close by David Hume had one of these tiny praying apartments; which in his case was a sad superfluity.

Scottish piety, however, was not satisfied with these more deliberate or "stated" prayers; a favourite outlet for devotions consisted in pious "ejaculations."[4] These abrupt, spontaneous,

[1] Mr. Thomas Gillespie, founder of Relief Church in 1761, "spent much of his time in tears, watching the progress of religion in his soul, and engaged in constant warfare with Satan and his corrupt desires," a man who "cried mightily to God."—P. 199, Thomson's *Hist. Sketch of Secession Church.*

[2] Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 311; *Diary of George Brown, passim.*

[3] Chambers' *Ancient Architecture of Edinburgh*, p. 22.

[4] Among preparations for communion are mentioned "frequent retirements to God" and "many ejaculations."—*Advice of Communicants for necessary Preparations and Profitable Improvement of the Great and Comfortable Ordinances of the Lord's Supper, etc.*, by Robert Craighead, minister of Londonderry, Glasgow, 1714; *Memoirs of Fraser of Brea*, p. 212. "Be much in ejaculatory prayer in the pulpit for yourselves and your hearers."—*Life of Rev. J. Brown of Haddington*, p. 116. "What is the use of ejaculatory prayer? *Answer.*—To disengage our hearts from the world and fit us for daily communion with God, etc."—*Short Practical Catechism*, by W. Crawford. "Some people have more devotion this way in their shops than others in their closets, and while walking in the fields

spasmodic prayers were short sentences or exclamations to God, which fell from the lips of people when walking, engaged in business, or ordinary conversation. It was considered that these holy interjections were extremely helpful to Christians; even more efficacious than regular "exercises," for they rose to heaven so suddenly that Satan had no time to spoil or divert the Christian's thought. Earnest men, and hypocritical men also, as they went along the road, burst into these holy expletives; the pious merchant muttered them as he served out thread and candles to his customers; and ploughmen, as they with devout meditation stumbled with their oxen along the furrows. Ministers in the pulpit loved to "dart up a petition to heaven." Where a worldling in perplexity would have issued a hasty execration, the good man uttered an ejaculation. These startling and irrelevant sets-off to conversation and interjections in business seem to have given much satisfaction to the performers, but fortunately they gradually died out in favour of a more reticent form of worship, although they continued to be recommended by divines as most comforting and most helpful.

In the intensity of devotional fervour, when the ministers of the old gospel school had their times of perplexity, or some emergency was to be met, they sometimes engaged in fasting. In the morning they rose early, and they and their household would meet in supplication for "light at the throne" and for pious exhortation. This operation occupied the whole forenoon, and not till one or two o'clock in the afternoon, when dinner came, did they break their fast since the previous night.[1] It is by such a fast and devout exercise that Mr. Thomas Boston

than when praying on their knees."—P. 142, Willison's *Sanctification of Lord's Day*. Mr. Alex. Moncrieff's "visits to the throne of grace were frequent. Besides his stated seasons for retirement he was observed to be often engaged in ejaculatory prayer."—P. 831, M'Kerrow's *Hist. of Secession Church*.

[1] "On Monday some time was spent in [Mr. Main's] family in prayer with fasting. The family being gathered together he began his work, showing the cause of it, which was, 1st, the afflicting hand of God on his family; 2nd, to prepare for the congregational fast at Carluke; 3rd, to pray to God on behalf of his parish. Then I prayed; after which he, having spoken a little, prayed again also. These prayers continued long, but we had ended about half an hour after twelve. After which, retiring to our several apartments, we dined at two, having had no breakfast."—Boston's *Memoirs*, 1776, 104.

(having admired this method when practised in another manse) sought to move the Almighty to dispel the stone from which he was suffering, to help him in his study of Hebrew accentuation, and to "take away the hand of God from his children who had the chincough."

That there were unbroken, unbreakable laws, a succession of physical cause and effect, inevitable, changeless, passing on their silent course unbending to mortal prayers, unyielding to human needs—this, of course, was a conception of the material world unknown to those days, incredible to those men. Natural laws were merely regarded as conventional arrangements of Providence which could be lightly changed, stopped, or reversed. In those times, therefore, the voice of a minister, the prayer of a saintly pastor, was of no little importance; his petitions for sunshine or for rain were desired, and the result watched with anxiety; and if, in ignorance of husbandry or the needs of his farmers, he prayed for the wrong weather—such as "refreshing showers" in hay-time—it might bring no little disaster. There was nothing that occurred, no incident however trivial, no circumstance however natural, which was not believed specially directed to help, punish, or discipline each mortal's life. There was a fine egotism in this personal interpretation of nature, as if Providence moved all creation to the dim far-off events of each individual's private affairs. For example, when the minister of Ettrick's daughter was born with a hare-lip, "which rendered her incapable of sucking," this affliction was sent to punish her father's backslidings. When his wife fell nearly demented, it was in order to humble his pride in his study of Hebrew accents; and when snow came in spring it was to prevent his going to a Presbytery meeting, for it never suggests itself to his devout mind that it is rather undue favouritism even to the author of the *Fourfold State of Man*, to send a snowstorm which ruined the young shoots of corn and destroyed sheep in half a dozen counties of a half-famished land. When a minister is troubled with gravel, is in agony with toothache, loses his cow or his daughter, is visited with bad dreams from obvious indigestion, each calamity is "sent." When a Fast is made to humiliate for parochial sins and remove a judgment in the form of unseasonable snow, from which the "flocks are

perishing from lack of food," it is noted that "the Lord heard the prayers," "the soft wind came and thawed the snow wreaths" on the bleak hills of Ettrick.[1]

Sometimes events assume a more miraculous aspect.[2] In 1702, Mr. Wodrow learns that while the celebrated Mr. David Williamson was preaching in St. Giles a rat came and sat upon the pulpit Bible; whereupon the preacher stopped his discourse, "went home, and continues sick"—the omen being interpreted as a sign from Heaven that he should surely die. Yet later comforting reports arrive that the doomed and nervous divine still survives. The same gentleman when preaching at Aberdeen was mocked by a profane man singing in the streets the personal song "Dainty Davie" (egged on thereto by Jacobite Episcopalians), and also by his laughing in the kirk. The minister exclaimed, "Alas! for the poor man is rejecting the last offer he is ever to have of Christ." "The wretch dyed before night in great agony." Mr. John Semple, a famed preacher, had a peculiar way of putting out his tongue and licking his lips. Mr. Wodrow is informed that a fellow aped him in this action,[3] and thereupon his "tongue became stiff, so that he could not draw it back again, and died in a few days." To mock or taunt a pious minister brought upon the offender retribution as swift and condign as fell on the Jericho children who called Elisha "bald head!" The servant who laughed at Kiltearn manse during family devotions was warned of the judgment to come upon her, and died that very night.[4] When the great fire broke out in Edinburgh in October 1700, one Sabbath morning, destroying Parliament Close and adjoining wynds, clergy, magistrates, and populace all recognised in it that, as well as in the "terrible and tremendous blowing up of gunpowder in Leith, a fearful rebuke of God for the common neglect of the Lord's Day and great growth of immorality within the city, and the Town Council came to solemn resolution to be more watchful over their hearts and ways than formerly, and reprove sin with more zeal."

When calamities befell the country it was not easy to discriminate for which or for whose particular sins the wrath

[1] Boston's *Memoirs*.
[2] *Analecta*, i. 12.
[3] *Ibid.* i. 150.
[4] *Memoir of Hog of Kiltearn*, p. 147.

was shown.[1] When therefore a Fast and day of humiliation was appointed to avert the hand of Providence, there was always announced a list of various alternative sins for which penitence was due.[2] When the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr appoints a day of fasting, it is "besides for ordinary causes" on "account of Satan's prevailing"; "because of witchcraft having occurred in their bounds" (at Paisley); "in order that the Lord would direct the judges who were to sit and try the wretched creatures, the matter being so very mysterious and intricate"; and "to convince the culprits" (who were not yet tried) "of their horrid guilt." When the "ill years" came with frost and haar, snow and rain destroying crops and starving the people, the General Assembly ordered a Fast, comprehensively "to appease the anger of God for the sins of Sabbath breaking, profanity, drunkenness, uncleanness, and infidelity." When Synods or Presbyteries enjoined these provincial days of humiliation because of "abominations and gross crying sins," proving that "Satan was let loose among us," which has caused "desolating strokes,"—scarcity of bread, threat of war, or a terrible fire,—sermons with appropriate texts, chosen from Hosea or Amos, were given to "rip up consciences," and vehement prayers are offered to restrain "Satan's rage."

Sometimes they can discover that the finger of Providence was at work, at others it was clear that the hand of Satan was engaged. Sometimes, however, it was very difficult to decide whether a calamity was due to the devil who is vexing a man, or due to Heaven who is punishing him. It was unquestioned that Satan made people believe in spells, charms,

[1] *King's Pious Proclamation for Encouragement of Piety, as also Collection of Acts of Assembly, Town Councils*, etc. Edin. 1727; Willison's *True Sanctification of the Lord's Day*. More egotistically, however, Hume of Crossrig was clear that "Satan blew the fire" in indignation at himself and his friends forming praying societies for the reformation of manners and morals of Edinburgh.—P. 22, *Diary of Hume of Crossrig*.

[2] "17 April 1717.—Enjoined as a day of solemn fasting by reason of many gross and crying abominations that do abound in the land, and the severe stroaks which are at present hanging over heads on account of our sins, which may provoke the Lord to threaten us with intended invasion of the foreign enemy, and with scarcitie of bread, considering the coldness and sharpness of the present season."—P. 55, Cramond's *Presbytery of Fordyce;* Guthrie Smith's *Strathendrick*, p. 61; Lees' *Paisley Abbey*, p. 331.

and holy wells; it is Satan who afflicted the epileptic, "making him utter horrid cries";[1] it is Satan who rages in parishes as the communion drew near, "causing drunkenness and immorality to abound";[2] when a storm comes on as God's people are journeying homewards from the "occasion," the minister and elders discern "the bruised serpent hath begun a broadside." The Christian as he sat at the Lord's table was assailed with horrid thoughts by the adversary, who suggests to him that Christ's body and blood are corporally present, and even caused him "to feel a singular smell in the bread and wine of flesh and blood, which mightily troubled him."[3] In short, there is no calamity too great for the enemy to cause, and no spite too petty for him to vent. As the Hungarian proverb says: "When the devil is hungry he eats flies."

In the view of a credulous age the Prince of Darkness was assigned an immense sway in creation. It was, in fact, a duel between the powers of good and evil who each wields the elements for his opposing purposes. It is the Adversary who sends to a man fearful doubts; it is the Creator who sends him light; it is Satan who afflicts the minister of Brea "with a boil under his oxter"; it is the Lord who after prayer "miraculously" removes it. Diseases which baffled the chirurgeons to diagnose, and mysterious noises sounding through a house, were attributed to Satanic agency, which could alone be baulked by prayer and solemn adjuration of evil spirits to begone. It was while engaged in exorcising the devil in a mansion in his parish that the minister of Southdean, father of Thomson, the poet of the *Seasons*, fell down dead—another evidence of Satan's work. In all this there is a profound conviction that unseen tremendous agents are influencing each man's life from birth to death; that poor mortals are pawns on the chessboard of earth, moved by invisible opponents who are each trying to checkmate the other.[4] There is

[1] Boston's *Memoirs*. [2] Spalding's *Sacra Syntaxis*.

[3] Wodrow's *Analecta*.

[4] *Life of Rev. James Fraser of Brea*. Satan employed for his purposes many agents. Mr. M'Gill, minister of Kinross in 1718, was infested with evil spirits, the meat appeared on table stuck full of pins, sheets on the green were found snipped in pieces, "lime (earthenware) vessels" fell from the press to fragments, stones *wambled* down the chimney, the servant vomited pins,

with people a vivid realisation of the unseen, an awe with which every untoward event is regarded; in base men there is a terror of judgment, in good men there is a fine consecrating of common life. Not a journey was undertaken or a plan formed without guidance being sought, and when the minister publishes a book, he takes a copy of his cherished work and "lays it before the Lord." The presence of Christ seems so near, the unseen world is so vivid, that once assured of salvation there was no fear to die, no reluctance to quit life, each Christian man passes to heaven as unconcernedly as he would go to the next room, where everything was familiar to the eyes.[1]

Yet it is a curious feature of the times that the most devout have strange alternations of mood—now they are in abject despair, now they are in joy at "finding Christ"; to-day they are in the depths of anxiety about their salvation—doubting their "surety with Him"; to-morrow they will be in the third heaven "at being His." They interpreted every mood of their mind, every state of their body as divinely purposed. If a minister cannot work out his sermon, and has "damps"—these "damps" are marks of "divine displeasure." If he is in good spirits and preaches with vigour, "the Lord has countenanced him." The wife of Mr. Thomas Boston suffered in her later years from melancholy—which is not surprising in the uncheerful household of faith at Ettrick—and the picture of the poor woman is truly pathetic,—"struggling to hold fast to Christ like a bird on the side of the wall, gripping with its claws."[2]

With all these emotions—changing from spiritual misery to ecstasy (the result chiefly of the stern doctrine of election, rendering people sure or doubtful of their salvation according to their varying mood and spirits), there was usually an inspired conviction in ministers of the rightness of their teaching. How could they doubt? for whenever in perplexity they opened

the Bible was flung in the fire, the bread was uneatable. "Is it not very sad," remarks Mr. Wodrow, "that such a godly family that employ their time but by praying, reading, and serious meditation, should be so molested, while others who in a manner avowedly serve the wicked one are never troubled."—*Analecta*, ii. 330.

[1] Boston's *Memoirs;* Robe's *Faithful Narrative.*

[2] Boston's *Memoirs;* Doddridge's *Life of Col. Gardiner*, 1747.

the Scriptures, and alighted upon a passage that cleared their minds, they were sure that Providence guided their fingers to the page, their eyes to the lines, and their minds to its meaning. How could preachers not be confident, seeing that it was the Lord that gave them a "good through-bearing," gave their feelings an "out-gate," and their lips right words to speak? The phrase "thus saith the Lord" would have become the lips of Boston or Erskine quite as well as those of Habbakuk and Amos.

The full austerity and intensity of religious teaching amidst the serious minded of that age can best be realised by looking at the home-teaching and training in many households of the first half of the century. Children gifted with the misfortune of having "godly parents" had a terrible ordeal to pass through; for piety was forced into their poor little lives, and all that was bright and genial was forced out. Singing, catechising, reading Scriptures, and praying were the burden of their unmirthful existences. When a promising child dies, it is parental satisfaction to record the graces of the premature angel. "He was a pleasant child, and desirable," chronicles the father proudly; "grave and wise beyond his years, a reprover of sin among his comrades, frequent in his private devotions as he was capable."[1] Such is the fond picture of a son whom it "pleased the all wise God to remove from life in the seventh year of his life." Mr. Thomas Boston, with like complacency, relates the spiritual attainments of his son: "I spoke to my son Thomas about the state of his soul and prayed with him. Being risen from prayer and asking him what was the matter, he said he knew not how to get an interest in Christ. He went into the western room thereafter, and being asked why, said he went to seek an interest in Christ, and tell Him he would be His." On questioning him, his father was pleased to find him "sensible of the stirring of corruption in the heart," and that when Satan tempted him he would cry out "Go away!" and sought to overcome his wicked thoughts by reading his Catechism and his Bible. All this at the infant age of seven: of course the child died in a few years.[2] Such narratives

[1] Turnbull's *Diary*, 1696, Scot. Hist. Society, p. 423.

[2] *Memoirs*, p. 358. "Dec. 8, 1704.—This day Jean Beggart, a very extra-

abound in the religious records of the period: infant prodigies of piety who, in imitation of their seniors, sign "covenants" and espousals to Christ at the age of nine; who are "ripe Christians" at the precocious age of five; who "bend before the throne" when they should be bending over their marbles; children with strong faith and weak lungs, who hear strange things in dreams, forecast future events; who with "ravishing speech" edify their hearers, and reveal "uncommon notions of the meaning of Scripture."

Such a morbid existence was then led in innumerable homes in Scotland. Life assumed a sombre aspect, and the pleasures of the world were taken sadly; boyish frolics were eyed askance,[1] and sometimes with keen reprehension; dancing was a carnal excitement, cards a dangerous pastime, dicing was an impious game (for lots were appointed by God for holy purposes as recorded in Holy Writ), the theatre was the devil's playground, and dancing assemblies were the recruiting quarters for Satan's ranks. Books could not be too carefully chosen, for poetry was fanciful, and tales were frivolous and untrue; and such papers as the *Tatler* and *Spectator* were not fit for well-disposed minds. Even the more tolerant evangelicals

ordinary Christian, tells me she has a daughter scarce 10 years old that she supposes is under decay. There are so many promising things about her. She dares not doubt of her salvation. It is several years (!) since she used to complain of distress for want of Christ. Not long since, one night they were looking to some light they saw in the north; and when she saw it she fell aweeping, and when asked why, said she feared judgments were coming out to the generation. In one of her weak fitts her mother asked her if she feared to dye? She answered 'Noe.' Asked if she was not feared to lye her loan in the grave? she said she would have feared if Christ had not lyen there."—*Analecta*, i. 55. "Mrs. Yuill tells me she has a son called John, a stirring child. He fell under sickness and turned very serious, and regretted his frowardness, and made a covenant with God, and signed it, and after that came a full assurance of salvation."—*Analecta*, ii. 366, also i. 86, 115. One of the chapbooks most popular among the serious was the *Dying and Ravishing Words of Christian Ker*, who died at the age of seven.

[1] Clackmannan, Jany. 1713.—Two lads disguised themselves, to be play at "guisards" at New Year festivities; they blackened their faces—one dressed as a woman, the other put straw ropes round his legs, and for the innocent iniquity they were summoned before the Session. "Both acknowledged their sin, and promised by God's grace never to fall into the like again. The Session thought fit to dismiss them, the minister having held forth to them on the sinfulness and abomination of their deed."—*Northern Notes and Queries*, ii. 2.

did not dare to offend the religious world, or go against pious conventionalities, and the children of ministers learned not dancing, and indulged in recreations sparingly.[1]

It may seem unfair to cite the life and character of the once famed minister of Ettrick as illustrative of the religious ways of the age he lived in—a man of morbid nature and of a melancholy temperament which increased with constant ill health. It is true that this spiritual Pepys, in the strange narrative of his life, written for the edification of his children, is singularly frank in religious and bodily revelations. The minister of the quiet, remote Ettrick, with the bleak moorland before him, and the quiet green hills rising behind the manse, shutting him in from the busy world beyond, lived an anxious, troubled life till he died in 1732. With equal gravity and minuteness he tells how he found assurance and how he lost his teeth;[2] describes the state of his soul and of his constitution; his sins and his boils; his gravel, his scurvy, his cholic, and his fasts, his prayers and his Presbytery journeys; his travail over Hebrew accents, his fears from Satan, and his perplexity when the dead-bell fell in the silence of the night, and rolled tingling downstairs with significance that made him quake; and all his troubles from cantankerous elders and a censorious flock. Yet notwithstanding much that seems extravagant to us and melancholy in Mr. Boston, he was a man of ability and of great influence in his day; he was a powerful preacher of the grim school, the representative of a prominent type of thought and feeling; he moved the hearts and expressed the faith of a large proportion of the people throughout the century, who thumbed his *Crook in the Lot* and his *Fourfold State* with endless edification. Peasants and farmers read them by their peat fires, and shepherds on the solitary silent hills; his smaller works were the favourite chapbooks of pedlars, and the twelve portly tomes that contained his theological expositions were found in many a manse library and on the book shelves of every Seceding minister long after the century was closed.

[1] Ramsay's *Scot. and Scots.* ii.; Caldwell *Papers*, ii. 262; Carlyle's *Autobiography.*

[2] 1730.—"Thursday I spent in prayer and fasting . . . and whereas I had before put my teeth in a box for preservation, I put another into it that same day."—*Memoirs*, p. 459, p. 509.

A not less typical minister of those days was Mr. Robert Wodrow—the historian of the Church. Not an old man, for he died in 1734 at the age of fifty-five, in his manse of the peaceful parish of Eastwood, when Glasgow was still a small far off city; yet he was saturated with all the old notions, pious superstitions, and quaint bigotries of fathers of the "ante-diluvian age"; an inquisitive, garrulous, credulous man whose ears were erect at every tale of wonder, and whose pen was busy recording every "remarkable." Nothing was too feeble to note down if a saintly man had said it; no judgment was too monstrous to believe, if a "regardless man" had suffered it. In his *Analecta* and *Correspondence* all the follies and the virtues, all the grotesqueness and simple piety of his age are to be found; and the things that touch us to mirth are always the very things which filled the good man with awe, with reverence and devout conviction.[1]

[1] A finer type of the Scots divine was found in Professor James Wodrow (father of the minister of Eastwood), who belonged to the Covenanting period, and died Professor of Divinity in Glasgow in 1707. We read of him enjoying, though with trembling of conscience, his game of chess with his neighbour the dumb laird; anxious that his servants on the Sabbath should have better fare at supper to make them happier; kneeling by the bedside of his dead son, thanking God "for the loan of my son Sandy for thirty years"; rebuking the pious priggism of his son Robert, who complained that "he did not get that satisfaction in learning his grammar and Latin books, finding little therein that has any relation to eternity." "Robbin," replied the worthy father, "your knowledge is but small, but you should remember when you are reading your books and repeating Dispanter's rules [the Latin rudiments used in most parish schools], if you have God's glory before you, and serving Him and your generation, you are really serving God, and He is as well pleased with you as if you were praying and reading Scripture."—P. 168.

CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL LIFE

PART II

I

DURING the period from 1707 to 1750 there was quietly going on a movement which was slowly disintegrating the austere, fanatic religious character of Scotland. This movement was the growth of interest and employment in trade which arose some years after the Union with England. Industries began to give occupation to the people; the linen and woollen trade began to take up their attention; foreign trade in time gave outlets for their energy abroad and manufactures at home; and later in the century agricultural improvements gave new interests to their minds. So long as there was social stagnation their thoughts remained in the old grooves.[1] But men congregated in towns were less under the inquisition of churches; they discussed material concerns more and sacred things less, and old spiritual matters fell out of sight as ministerial supervision fell off. Fuller intercourse with the world rubbed off many a prejudice; just as Scotsmen changed

[1] 1709.—"The sin of our too great fondness for trade to the neglecting of our more valuable interests, I humbly think will be written to our judgment."—Wodrow's *Correspondence*, i. 67. Some ships having been taken by the French, Wodrow observes: "Its said that in all there is about 80,000 pounds sterling lost, whereof Glasgow has lost 10,000. I hope trading people may see the language of such a Providence. I am sure the Lord is remarkably frowning upon our trade in more respects than one since it is put in the room of religion in the late alteration of our constitution."—*Analecta*, i. 218.

their fashions of working and of dressing, they changed their ways of thinking too. If this took place amongst the lower classes, it took place with more rapidity amongst the educated orders. Closer communication with England, the increase of business, the presence in Parliament of sixty representative gentry and nobles, their residence with their families in the south; were amongst the means which brought new notions of all things, of gardening and farming, new modes of dress and new manners of living, fresher knowledge of literature, and wider views in religion. The fashion of young gentlemen going abroad to Dutch universities to study, and thence to Paris to see society, opened their eyes and relaxed their opinions to the dismay of their fathers.[1]

The serious minded early began to note the encroachment of less strict and austere practices.[2] With alarm there was observed, about 1720, the beginning of a deplorable change in the use of "minced oaths" and strange phrases. "Not only," it was noted, "did Sabbath breaking abound to the extent that many before and after service walked in the fields," but old Scripture and old Scots words were going out of use, and instead of the authorised terms of "father" and "mother" the "nonsensical names of 'papa' and 'mama,'" came into fashion, and "even the professors, who never dreamed before of swearing, now dared to use such expressions as 'devil,' 'faith,' 'shame,' and many have changed the blessed name of God into 'Gad'—one of his sinful mortal creatures." It is true that these are only the words of Mr. Patrick Walker, conspicuous more for piety than worldly wisdom, the worshipper of Covenanting fathers, whose lives he wrote and sold in chapbooks to the peasantry, but they express the opinions of the "professors" and the godly over the country. Uttering in 1723 his lamentations, he sees divine judgment on such iniquities "in a new ague fever never heard of before to be mortal."

Marks of moral decay were observed all around;[3] the

[1] *Caldwell Papers*, i. 260.

[2] P. Walker's *Biograph. Presbyter.*, i. 134.

[3] Other symptoms of decay were observed "in the scandalous practice of swearing and mocking in time of public worship at serious and godly ministers, and of coming to the church designedly for these profane purposes"; in "the idolatrous custom of swearing by kissing the Gospels, too much in use amongst

toleration of Episcopalian worship and in the opening of a theatre in Edinburgh—which were alike impious and profane —both in the year 1712. There was also the holding of fashionable assemblies for promiscuous dancing, which was sinful in itself and terrible in its effects. And with these social changes came others that were intellectual. Formerly there had been amongst educated classes, side by side with pietism, beliefs in omens, charms, and witchcraft, and the profound belief in ghosts clinging to every ancestral house, which had its haunted room that not even the bravest would occupy; but about 1730 these superstitions were gradually dying out amongst "genteel circles." At the same time the power of the wild clergy began to fail with the educated classes, their fulminations no longer terrorised, their whine ceased to impress; the old school of gospel ministers, with their stern doctrines and their menaces of judgment, were less reverenced, and their uncouth sayings, their rustic ways, became subjects of mighty jesting, not merely in the houses of Jacobite lairds, but in many a Whig Presbyterian home, and in every tavern. The sermons that the educated care for were those of a milder type, in which there was less of damnation and more of morality.[1]

Patrick Walker, while deploring defections among the laity, laments as bitterly a sad decay amongst many of the clergy, "who affect English cant and follow the hellish example of the laity, who mincingly speak of God as 'Gad,' and many tender souls complain that it makes their souls to quake." In

us; in sinful associates and confederacies with idolatrous nations, well-known enemies of godliness which have been entered into by these lands"—referring to a commercial treaty with Portugal; "in the settling in parishes of young men of low principles and vain, light, and frothy conversation, while many sound, serious, and godly, and of great abilities, are discouraged, reproached, and industriously kept out."—*A Publick Testimony . . . by a considerable Number of Christian People . . . anent Grievances*, Edinburgh, 1732. Wodrow's mind in 1724 was distressed by a change in tone and manners in Glasgow, which was eminent for its sedate propriety, young men who had gone abroad on mercantile business came back with looser habit, students mocked at gospel ministers and favoured Simson's erroneous ways; prayer societies had dwindled from seventy-two to four; and clubs for debating worldly and profane questions had increased, discipline was less regarded, and delinquents less shunned.—*Analecta.*

[1] *Caldwell Papers*, i. 260. "Young ministers are introducing a style more decent and reasonable, which irritates the old stagers against them, and therefore they begin to preach at one another."—*Letters from the North*, ii. 175.

olden days the worthy pedlar says "they had golden ministers and wooden cups, now they have golden cups and wooden ministers." Other persons with less prejudice and more intelligence were watching with satisfaction the appearance of men in the ranks of the clergy of refinement, culture, and breeding,—men who had nothing in common with the fervid old "antediluvians," and the fanatical evangelical preachers. At the beginning of the century the benches at universities were filled with young men from all quarters, attracted to the ministry by pious zeal for their calling, or worldly desire for the many livings which were in need of a pastor. These were largely drawn from the lower classes.[1] Many got their training in manners when they became chaplains in private families, where "Mess John" (as he was called) got poor wages and but scanty courtesy.[2] When they became ministers they were loved by the people for their rhapsodies, their wild teachings, and for pandering to the taste of the populace before whom they would pray, "Lord save us from the crooked way of morality." Gradually there came forward others of a better

[1] In his diary Principal Stirling of Glasgow says "that in 1702 there were upwards of 400 students in Greek philosophy and divinity classes, most of them studying for the Church, owing to the great demand for men to fill the empty benefices"—*Stat. Act. Scot.*, Glasgow University, xxvii. 21. The number of students for all professions about 1750 was only about 300. Of the large number of 143 divinity students in Glasgow in 1702, 43 were Irish.—Reid's *Irish Presbyterian Church*, iii. 93. Contemporaries complain of the class and superabundance of candidates for the ministry. "At present we are overstocked with young clergymen [there being but 900 beneficed clergy, and at this time 300 licensed probationers, and the students of divinity exceed that number]. The reason of that seems to be that many people out of vanity, because some of their relations are ministers, will educate a son in this way to push him into a rank in the world above his birth and condition."—*Interest of Scotland Considered*, 1733. "The well-meaning zeal of our clergy in pressing honest farmers and tradesmen to send their sons to Latin schools and colleges does a great deal more hurt to the commonwealth than service. I even know many an honest farmer ruine himself every season of going to college. The beasts and bere, the only thing he had to pay his landlord's rent, must be presently sold to fit a son with a cloak and hat for the college, and not leave a groat for his other children, and after all to support one—and after all a very dunce."—*Essay on Ways and Means of Enclosing*, etc., 1729.

[2] Sage's *Fundamental Charter of Presby.*, 1695 ; Calamy's *Own Life*, ii. 211, 218. "They treat their chaplains but indifferently, and the poor Mess Johns are so kept down in several county families that they dare not call their souls their own."

type, very different from the hot gospellers with their grotesqueries of speech and style. While professors at colleges prelected in lumbering Latin on the text-books of Turretin and Markius, and discussed the errors of Limborch, Voetius, and Cocceius, students turned to writers of their own day in England who were touching the minds of the age. By 1726 Professor Hutcheson in Glasgow was in his class of Moral Philosophy forming a school of liberal men. He disputed no dogma, and taught no heresy as he discussed the beauty of moral virtue, descanted on the "harmony of the passions" and the dignity of human nature; all this not in dull, obscure Latin like his colleagues, but in eloquent English, albeit with Irish brogue, as he walked up and down his class-room platform. As he spoke on these themes Calvinistic dogmas seemed to lose all their meaning; the orthodox doctrines of the Kirk of the total corruption of human nature, of reprobation, of salvation by faith alone, became to his audience strangely unreal. And he who had begun his career as an unsuccessful "moral" preacher in Ulster became the successful guide to future preachers of morality in Scotland.[1]

The divinity professors were orthodox, but the very dulness and the prolixity of their Latin lectures and their Dutch authorities had no influence on many students, except to make them think for themselves; wearied as they were of teachers who imported their theology from Holland, as from the same source gardeners imported their tulips, farmers their turnip seed, and lairds their barley mills.[2]

[1] *Life of Hutcheson* by Leechman. After Hutchison preached his first sermon before the congregation of Ulster Scots Presbyterians the elders said to his father: "We a' feel muckle for your mishap; but it cannot be concealed. Your silly son Frank has fashed a' the congregation with his idle cackle, for he has been babbling this 'oor aboot a guid and benevolent God, and that the souls o' the heathen will gang to heaven if they follow the licht o' their own consciences. Not a word did the lad say, ken, or speer about the guid auld comfortable doctrines o' election, reprobation, original sin, and faith. Hoot, awa' wi' sic a fellow."—Reid's *Irish Presbyterian Church*, iii. 406.

[2] "Professor Hamilton of Edinburgh used to recommend his students at the end of the course to maintain a tender and charitable respect towards their fathers in the Church who had not enjoyed the means of acquiring literature and liberality of sentiment."—Somerville's *Own Life*, p. 64. The people, puzzled by the new mode of teaching, when a young preacher spoke of the

These men constituted a new school of clergy. Doubtless their philosophy was shallow, the introduction into discourses of new theories of morals was very crude, and their prayers were often "pedantic and affected." Certain it is that they shocked the people and the godly ministers. These "vivid sparks," these "bright youths," as Wodrow styled them with an unwonted effort at sarcasm, were, as he tells us, "conceited, exacting, and dogmatic, woefully evaporate on questions and debates too high for them." It was said they gave a "paganised Christianity," "savouring of Socrates and Seneca."[1] They certainly had in their number men of scholarship and culture—of whom the Wisharts were the finest type—men who spoke for the first time in the pulpit of good works and a good life as the only way to serve God. Ebenezer Erskine pathetically exclaimed over this new mode: "Sirs, our own righteousness and good works will never dict and stop the mouth of conscience. It must needs discover a man to be of a legal mind that licks himself with his good works."[2]

Two parties now stood forth in the Church—the "legal" preachers or moralists, and the "high-flyers" or evangelicals. They were hotly opposed to each other, and the debates in Church courts became sources of intense enjoyment to the idle men of Edinburgh, who would say, "Come, let us go and see sport at the Assembly."[3] They contradicted each other in

"harmony of the passions," protested they never knew they had a fiddle in their inside."—Moncreiff's *Life of Erskine*, p. 61, p. 492; Ramsay's *Scot. and Scots.*

[1] Wodrow's *Correspondence*, Sept. 4, 1709. The minister of Eastwood consoles himself with the fact that "there are a few of the old antediluvians amongst us like a shock of corn, very much edified, and re-opened from Sabbath to Sabbath for the glory of the gospel"; but the angel of death soon reaped and garnered these old "shocks of corn."

[2] Rev. J. Maclaren of the Tolbooth, Edinburgh, greatly admired by Lord Auchenleck, was one who loathed this new class, and fervently he prayed against a "little worth, lax, frothy ministry that ken little o' God, less o' Christ, and are fu' o' themselves." This man—an able specimen of the uncouth old type — when visiting Dr. Davidson, a decrepit old man, prayed thus: "O Lord have mercy on Thy poor crooked servant"—on which he was told to go home and learn better manners. When praying for the hastening of the restoration of the Jews, he said: "O Lord, shule [shovel] awa' time."—*Boswelliana*, edit. by Rogers, 259; Ramsay's *Scotland and Scots.*

[3] Crichton's *Life of Colonel Blackadder*, p. 404, 1718 — "We have four exercises here [Stirling] on Sabbath, and we have four different ministers, some

their sermons, and perplexed congregations by antagonistic teachings—whereat people were grieved or disgusted or vastly amused according to their disposition.

The change in theology and religious feeling began to show itself in opposition to the gospel leaders. In 1720 it was a shock to Mr. Thomas Boston and his friends when a long-forgotten English work, *Marrow of Divinity*,[1] which he republished and annotated as the richest exposition of sound doctrine, was condemned by the General Assembly as "unsound and dangerous." No wonder he felt it a mark of divine displeasure at the black work in which the Church was busy, that at the moment of their deplorable decision "a dreadful tempest of thunder and hail took place, delaying with its fury the proceedings." Comfort was derived by these worthy censured divines from the fact that the people gave them their devotion, and looked upon the "marrow-men" as the only faithful teachers in the land.

Three years earlier the decay of godliness and orthodoxy on the part of the Church had been made manifest by the Assembly letting off Professor Simson of Glasgow, who had been charged with terrible heresy, merely with a caution to "avoid misleading phrases." Time passed, and in 1726 there came alarming rumours from the west that Mr. Simson, the professor of divinity, was again teaching grievous heresy. The pious soul of Lord Grange was vexed within him, and in tribulation he wrote to his friend Wodrow[2] that he heard he had adopted the Arianism of Dr. Samuel Clarke: "I heartily

expressing things one way, some another. This, I confess, I tremble at. Some are called 'legal preachers,' and are blamed for leaning too much to the Arminian side; while others they call evangelical go too far to the Antinomian side. Lord teach me Thyself, for I dare not trust implicitly to any man."—*Ibid*, p. 500; *Letter of a Blacksmith*, 1759.

[1] These "Marrow-Men" believed in their author even in his arguments proving that Adam, after he had slain animals for clothing, offered them in sacrifice as a type of Christ, and that Adam was saved because he believed in Christ exactly at 3 o'clock P.M. Boston in his *Notes* shows that "saint" is a "reprehensible word" to prefix to apostles or authors of the New Testament. "Why not on the same ground St. Moses, St. Aaron? No reason can be given of the difference but that it hath pleased Antichrist to canonize those New Testament saints, but not the Old Testament."—*Marrow of Divinity*, chap. ii. Notes.

[2] Wodrow's *Correspondence*, 1726.

wish it may be a misreport; for if not, every one who loves the Lord Jesus has cause to mourn it." His friend replied that it is only too true; that while in his class the professor asserts the Son to be supreme God, in conversation he asserts that the Son's self-existence is not consistent with His being begotten. Such flagrant Arianism he charitably attributes to mental derangement; "for the flux recurring twice or thrice a week has afflicted his head; although those who talked with him have found him connected and sensible in his talk, although dragging the subjects of Dr. Clarke, the Fathers and Council of Nicea, into all his conversation." The trial came on and dragged on; the professor was not very articulate in his explanations, the student witnesses were very hazy in their recollection of his Latin lectures. The result was that Simson, though disowning the charges, regretting his expressions, "abhorring" the alleged heresies, was deprived of his office, though not of his salary, and disappeared into private life with a comfortable income, abundant leisure, and pleasant society, after having agitated the religious world to its centre for years, and leaving the "high flyers" in consternation at such a heretic not being deposed from the ministry of the gospel. Yet another mark of shameful indifference to the gospel truth was seen by them in the treatment of Professor Campbell of St. Andrews, who had been in 1735 accused of flagrant error; above all of having published a discourse—*Apostles no Enthusiasts*—wherein he had disparaged those who were ever "consulting at the throne" and "imploring light," and attributing their own emotions to divine communication.[1] When the trial ended in acquittal, and he remained secure in his post teaching perilous views, it was felt that a tremendous blow had been dealt at faith in the Kirk. Clearly the reign of the old fanaticism was gone. Not, however, that there was really allowed any latitude of belief or teaching, for the Confession was made as rigorous a standard as ever by all parties in the Church.

Only once again was there a revival of old spiritual fervour and enthusiasm, such as would have made glad the hearts of the "antediluvians." This was in 1742, when the

[1] *Report of Committee on Purity of Doctrine*, 1736.

revivals of Cambuslang and Kilsyth took place—part of the wave of evangelicalism which was spreading over England under the influence of Whitfield and Wesley.[1] For years the parish had been going on its sluggish way under the ministrations of a worthy Mr. M'Culloch, when one day his sermon—more earnest than usual—had startling effects on his congregation; some fainted, some went into convulsions, others cried that they saw hell opened for them and heard the shrieks of the damned, from which we may infer the teaching that awakened them. The whole district was moved. "Wounded souls" came seeking hope and pardon; night and day the crowds gathered in distress about their salvation, the communion was thronged by 30,000 people, and 4000 sat down at the tables, while no less than eleven ministers were at one time preaching in the fields. George Whitfield, who was then in Scotland, came and stirred them with startling appeals, and the revival was blown into full blast. At Kilsyth also the parish minister one day startled his people and himself by his unexpected power. They wept, they prayed, they moaned. Week after week the awakening increased. The voice of the preacher mingled with the cries of the people who daily thronged the church. The very children gave up their games in order to sing and pray for hours together, while they were exhorted to "flee the wrath to come" and to "close with Christ."[2] Evangelical preachers, with the all-powerful Whitfield, came from long distances to assist in the great work. Communions which were frequently held were attended by about 40,000 people, while preaching went on in the kirk and in the fields. The faithful Mr. Robe explains what was the sort of doctrines that were potent. While the converted were moved to tears "by the sweet truths of the gospel," to the others "were preached the terrors of the law in the strongest terms." "I feared to daub or deal slightly with them," says the gratified pastor, "but told great and small that they were children of the devil while they were

[1] *Scots Magazine*, May 1742; *Gospel Weekly History, relating to the late Progress of the Gospel at Home and Abroad*, 1742.

[2] *Faithful Narrative of the extraordinary Work of the Spirit at Kilsyth and other Congregations in the Neighbourhood*, by James Robe, M.A., Glasgow, 1742.

in a state of unbelief, and that if they continued to the end they would be damned." Accordingly, they feared, they trembled, and they cried, "confessing it was because of dreadful apprehensions of the terrible wrath of God."

The whole of Scotland was excited over these scenes. The Evangelicals, who had so long been lamenting the corruption of the age and deadness of the people, rejoiced exceedingly at these manifestations of the Spirit. The Seceders, who could not believe that any good could come out of an Erastian Establishment, denounced them as impositions and delusions of Satan. The Moderates despised the whole affair as a display of foolish enthusiasm and nervous excitement. We may fairly believe, however, the favourable testimony on what was known as the "Cambuslang Wark," that drunkenness, vice, and profanity diminished, and honest piety was permanently established in many lives. The revival spirit passed to other quarters; it was keen in Glasgow, it was felt as far as Perthshire, and the praying societies which were formed kept alive for years much of spiritual impressions of the "Cambuslang Wark."[1]

II

After the middle of the century toleration, spread amongst all classes, had leavened the ranks of the clergy, over whose manners and tone a vast change had passed. Even the Evangelical party—strict and austere as they were—were unable to resist the tide of new feeling which had come over the age: they were more genial in faith and more cheerful in life. When in 1753 the Rev. John Home produced his play of "Douglas," the clerical feeling, it is true, was in many quarters wild against him, so that he prudently retired before the coming storm, and his clerical friends who had been present in the theatre had to submit to ecclesiastical censures.[2] But the very fact that a minister should write a play, and other ministers dared witness it, was ample proof that a revolution of opinion had come over society; and a time came

[1] Robe's *Faithful Narrative.*

[2] Mackenzie's *Life and Writings of John Home*, 1822, p. 49; Carlyle's *Autobiography.*

when John Home, no longer a minister, attended the General Assembly as an elder, dressed in the gorgeous uniform of the Fencibles; and the Assembly debates were deserted by members who were listening to Mrs. Siddons at the Theatre Royal.

Even the high-flyers or Evangelicals greatly modified the morose ways of their predecessors. The leaders of that party enjoyed society like their neighbours, partook of the conviviality of a period which was rejoicing in escape from a pious reign of terror. Dr. Webster, the ablest of them all, who combined the clearest of heads with the most unctuous of spirits, was the life of the supper parties of Edinburgh any time between 1760 and 1780, could join over a magnum of claret on Monday with gentlemen of not too correct lives whom he had consigned to perdition on Sunday; he could pass with alacrity and sincerity from devout prayers by a bedside to a roystering reunion in Fortune's tavern, and return home with his Bible under his arm and five bottles under his girdle. Notwithstanding all this, he was leader of his austere party and the idol of the "Tolbooth Whigs," to whom he discoursed on the "four-fold state of man" with fine fervour.[1] Dr. Wallace, eminent as a divine, a statistician, and economist, had even written *Notes to Gallini's Art of Dancing*, which, however, he was too discreet, probably, to practise.[2]

Nothing was more striking in the new attitude of the Church towards the world than the tolerance and courtesy with which the better sort of clergy treated heretics in opinion and antagonists in controversy. Warm friendship allied David Hume, the amiable sceptic, with Dr. Jardine, the fine Evangelical, as well as with the Moderates, Carlyle, Home, Blair, and Robertson. Dr. Thomas Reid, when combating the arch-infidel's philosophical views, sent to him his manuscripts for perusal and his style for correction. Charming compliments are exchanged by Hume with his reverend opponents in Aberdeen, Professors Campbell, Gerard, and Reid, the last writing, "Your friendly adversaries return their compliments to you respectfully. Your company would, although we are

[1] Carlyle's *Autobiography*; Somerville's *Own Life*; Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*; Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*.

[2] Mackenzie's *Life and Writings of Home*, p. 17.

all good Christians, be more acceptable than St. Athanasius."[1] Such a tone enables us to realise what a vast distance lies between this period and that when Boston and Erskine prayed and preached and fasted.

Never did the Church hold so high a place as in 1750-1770 in attainments, position, and esteem. In the General Assemblies met the men most conspicuous for worth and ability, both lay and clerical; and in the debates, the ministers of distinguished talents, and elders who were the most accomplished and brilliant Scotsmen, took their parts. In the absence of a Scots Parliament, the Assembly was looked upon and used as the nursery for orators and politicians, and there was to be found almost as good speaking as in the House of Commons. Advocates, eminent at the bar, like Wedderburn (an elder at 23) and Henry Dundas, lords of session like President Dundas,[2] statesmen like Sir Gilbert Elliot and Lord Marchmont, were members of the Court. The roll of Assembly for 1754 includes amongst its elders nine peers and five lords of session; the rest chiefly consist of baronets, lairds, and advocates of high standing at the bar and in society.

What the ministers were at the beginning of the century we have seen—thoroughly respectable, even eminently respected, pious and faithful, but narrow, uncouth, and superstitious. With all these faults, in spite of the homely garb and rustic speech, they were regarded with reverence,[3] for a minister in those days was considered by his prayer and preaching to have a power far beyond reach of lay attainment. Whether they were sprung from poorer classes, or schoolmasters, farmers, or from "merchants," or lairds, there was less difference in manners between ranks in the country then: the clergy married into good old county families,[4] and the lairds themselves

[1] Burton's *Life of David Hume*, ii. 155.

[2] Chamberlayne's *Present State of Great Britain*, 1754. "The General Assembly had then the boast of some of the best speaking in Britain, the House of Commons scarcely excepted."—P. 61, Mackenzie's *Life of Home*.

[3] Burt's *Letters*, i. 178. "Although they have not the advantage of any outward appearance by dress to strike the imagination, or to distinguish them from other men who happen to wear black or gray, they are, I think I may say, ten times more reverenced than our ministers in England."

[4] Reid's *Cameronian Apostle*, p. 60. The founders of the Secession Church had done so.

were not much richer than the minister, who in many cases was the second man in the parish in point of means. Never did the clergy in Scotland sink in social esteem and position like the common clergy in England in the beginning of the century. By the middle of the century the class had improved, socially and intellectually, and not yet had their position and authority been impaired seriously by dissent.[1] Their ministerial pre-eminence was still undisputed. Hospitable they were, and tastes being simple, and fare frugal, they could entertain with kindly dignity. In Edinburgh especially the clergy, by their position, rank, and ability, mixed in the highest circles of society. Even in the Highlands ministers seem to have often been men of considerable culture; and as the peasantry and crofters or farmers were too poor to send sons to be educated for learned professions, the students were chiefly drawn from the clergy or the tacksmen—who were educated themselves, and cadets of good families. The ministers described in the memorable *Tour to the Hebrides*—living far remote from towns and libraries, in inaccessible regions of the Highlands, appear as men of good sense and breeding, vigour and learning, so as even to extort growling regard from the anti-presbyterian lexicographer. But nowhere is higher praise given from a competent source than by Pennant in 1772,[2] the traveller

[1] In Skye especially classical education was general. The clergy of sixteen parishes in Skye and Harris were men of good families, of great learning and refinement.—Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlands*, Append. ii. 31. Mackenzie's *Life of Home*, p. 10: "The clergy of Scotland at that time were one of the most respectable as well as happy orders of the people. With the advantages always of a classical and sometimes of a polite education, their knowledge was equal or superior to any man in the parish. Their influence in those times, before a number of the sectaries had withdrawn themselves from the Established Church, was great and universal, and their incomes, taken with reference to the value of money, the state of manners, and style of living of that period, was much more adequate to all the purposes of comfort and decent appearance than the stipends of to-day, after all the augmentations which have been granted them. The clergy of Edinburgh coming thither thus prepared, mixed more than I think they have done at any subsequent period with the first and most distinguished persons of the place, distinguished whether in science, literature, or polite manners, and even as far as the clerical character might innocently allow, with men of fashion conspicuous for wit and gaiety."

[2] Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, i. 173.

who knew them well:—"They are much changed from the enthusiastic, furious, illiterate teachers of old times, and have taken up the mild method of persuasion instead of the cruel discipline of corporal punishment. They are the most decent and consistent in their conduct of any class of men of their order. Science flourishes almost universally among them, and their discourse is not less improving than the table they entertain strangers at is decent and hospitable. Very few of them permit the witchery of dissipation to lay hold on them." And the Englishman evidently thinks he pays an enormous compliment by saying, "they never sink their characters by midnight brawls, by mixing with the gaming world either in cards, cock-fighting, or horse-racing, but preserve with a narrow income a dignity too often lost among their brethren south of the Tweed."

Pennant could truly speak of the incomes as "narrow." In very many parishes the stipends were no larger than they had been a hundred years before. And yet expenses in living had immensely increased; provisions were more than double in price, and the dress of homespun once worn could not be put on in a more luxurious age, when silk had taken the place of linen, and broadcloth of home stuffs. Meanwhile the rents of farms had risen, and the incomes of lairds were vastly increased, and the relative position of the minister had in proportion diminished.[1] The average stipend was £52; some stipends were as low as £25, more than fifty were less than the legal minimum of £44,[2] and none were higher, even in the cities, though held by men of the powers of Drs. Robertson, Erskine, and Blair, than £120 or £130. In 1749 the General Assembly produced a scheme for augmenting the livings, showing that while 340 livings yielded from £70 to £100, there were 600 benefices which did not exceed from £24 to £60—"the pay of a land waiter or the lowest excise

[1] "Many are obliged to betake themselves to other shifts, such as farming and grazing, in order to support their families. By this their dignity and influence are lessened. Professor Hutcheson, in a pamphlet which is little more than 50 years old, states that the clergyman was generally in Scotland found to be second in point of income; now he is generally the twentieth, often not the thirtieth."—P. 46, Smith's *Survey of Argyleshire*.

[2] Morren's *Annals of Gen. Assembly*.

officer." This scheme, however, met with the keenest opposition of the elders who were nobles or landowners, as being ill-framed, ill-timed, and utterly unnecessary. Lord Marchmont, the liberal patron of letters but not of clergy, in the Assembly, condemned the proposal as unreasonable, and superciliously lectured the ministers on their wild zeal and desire after the "means of luxury and extravagance." Heritors repeated the easy cant of a "poor Church being a pure Church"—a phrase often on the lips of the frugal-giving Lord Auchinleck.[1] And so it ended in failure, and not till 1810 was the minimum stipend raised to £150, while a large proportion of the clergy had to contend with means straitened even to poverty. When we consider the narrow circumstances of a Church which had no high posts to offer, no honours or dignities wherewith to stimulate, to bribe, or to reward, it is remarkable that so many men of force, and learning, and ability were to be found in its ranks.

By the middle of the century the once despised and reprobated "legal" or moral preachers had increased so as to form the party of "Moderates," which became the most prevailing, ablest, and dominant class of clergy in Scotland. Most of the literary and cultured clergy belonged to that class, those of most practical energy, shrewdest to advance improvement in trade and agriculture, the sagacious advisers of their flocks on week-days, and wise teachers of duties on Sunday. Tories in politics, they were strong in carrying out the law on patronage, indifferent to the scruples of the popular clergy and to the wishes of the people; they cared for no "high-flying." Their ideal virtue was a sanctified common sense, and they were sedatives to all enthusiasm. They taught from the pulpit solidly the duties of everyday honesty, charity, good neighbourhood, without stirring a pulse. When Samuel Rogers

[1] Many cases occur in Kirk-Session records in eighteenth century of doles given out of the poor-box to destitute relicts and orphans of ministers. Their families often were reduced to humble trades. In 1744 Dr. Alex. Webster, with the aid of the able statistician Rev. Dr. Wallace, instituted the Widows' Fund, which secured poor ministers' families from destitution. Previous to that the only resources were the yearly collections at the meetings of the General Assembly, which were distributed as alms to needy widows and orphans.

visited Edinburgh[1] he heard Dr. Hugh Blair discoursing in his pompous manner upon Censoriousness, a theme which would have sounded miserable in the ears of old gospel preachers, and unpleasant to inquisitorial elders. Some would address their people on poor-laws[2] and benefit societies, admirable but not soul-lifting subjects; and as they laid down "the heads" of their sermons in the pulpit the congregation laid down their heads in the pews. It is true that if we judge the Moderates by Matthew Arnold's definition of religion,—as "morality touched with emotion,"—they were sadly lacking, for of "emotion" there was little. Dr. Henry, the historian, summons his friend the Rev. Dr. Sir Henry Moncreiff to come to him directly; "I have got something to do this week, I have got to die." So the young Evangelical divine stays with the old Moderate divine till he dies,—chatting, joking, reading,—honest piety blending with venerable fun; a curious little picture of a common-sense mode of "holy dying."[3]

The "reign of Moderates" a later Evangelical generation deplored as a period of spiritual deadness, of neglected parishes, of unvisited people,[4] of forsaken deathbeds and comfortless preaching—which need not be accepted as veracious. If they relaxed the discipline of the Church, and abolished public penance, they are to be thanked for abolishing thereby the crime of child murder, to which the terror of the Church had driven hapless maidens.[5] Ramsay of Ochtertyre repeats a

[1] Clayden's *Early Life of Samuel Rogers*, p. 93.

[2] *Sermons* by Samuel Charteris, D.D., of Wilton, 2 vols.

[3] Several admirable Surveys of Agriculture of the various parts of the country were written by "Moderate" ministers; the best informed accounts of parishes in the *Stat. Account of Scotland* 1793-7 were by them, and the encouragement to new methods of husbandry often came from these shrewd parish ministers.

[4] An Evangelical minister with meagre charity thus sums up the qualities of his "Moderate" stepfathers: "Many were genuine Socinians. When they preached their sermons generally turned on honesty, good neighbourhood, kindliness. To deliver a gospel sermon and preach to the hearts and consciences of dying sinners was completely beyond them as to speak in the language of angels. Their discourses were the most insipid and empty that ever disgraced the sacred name of sermon. Their congregations rarely amounting to one-tenth of the parishioners, were generally during the half hour's soporific harangue fast asleep. They had no more religion in private than in public," etc.—"Autobiography of Dr. James Hamilton," cited in *Lives of the Haldanes*, p. 130.

[5] Child murder, so rife before in rural districts, almost disappeared with

remark of Robert Burns, that the Moderate clergy or "New Lights" abounding in Ayrshire were all Socinians, a statement not very authoritative, which it would have been difficult to prove.[1] Shrewd country ministers were not likely to avow heresy in the pulpits; nor were they likely, even in the most genial unbosoming moments over their claret, to confide their heterodoxy to lairds, country writers, or even poets. They did not deny the old dogmas, probably they did not even doubt them; they simply felt it pleasantest to "let sleeping dogmas lie."[2] The statement that these men had a loosening effect on the religious opinions and conduct of Burns is singularly unhappy. The pity was that they had so little influence. They cast no doubts on revelation, and Burns had too many; they preached moral principles, and Burns had too few.

Evangelical ministers of the old school still abounded in the Church to leaven the arid Moderatism, their teaching drearily doctrinal, their discipline still severe and vigilant; yet from the finer Evangelical clergy came teaching which in its mild tone and benign spirit was a strange contrast to that of an older generation. All ecclesiastical life had vastly altered when the century closed. There was as much transformation in the feelings, opinions, and habits of life as in the habits of dress—in the change from gray homespun clothing and coloured cravats of ministers, who strode the causeway of the High Street of Edinburgh in 1700, to the brown wigs or powdered hair, the cocked hat, black single-breasted coat, frills and ruffles, knee-breeches, and silver-buckled shoes of the city ministers who walked the new pavement of Princes Street in 1800. That characteristic institution the "Scotch Sabbath" had been modified in its observance from the rigid days. It was not uncommon for clergymen in Edinburgh and Glasgow

relaxation of Church penance in public.—Stewart's *Sketches of Highlands*, ii. 39: "This crime has become less frequent since the strictness of Church discipline has softened." At Inverness Court of Justiciary, from 1747-1762 nine women hanged for child murder, since 1763 only one woman condemned.

[1] Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, ii. 554; *Robert Burns and Ayrshire Moderates, a Correspondence*, 1883 (privately printed). For a fair estimate, Moncreiff's *Life of Erskine*, p. 61; Cunningham's *Church History*.

[2] Principal Shairp's *Burns* (*English Men of Letters*), p. 47.

to have their friends at their genial suppers on Sundays, or after family worship at home to pass through the dimly lighted streets to bright gatherings of gentlemen in the flats.[1] Lord Cockburn gives his fine memories of that most Evangelical of divines and most well-bred of gentlemen[2]—Sir Harry Moncreiff—who at 9 o'clock of the Lord's day had his "family exercises," and entertained his friends thereafter to roasted hens, a goblet of wine, and wholesome talk. It is true that stricter persons mourned over such degenerate city-ways. And it was noted with sadness that the streets were not silent and deserted on the Sunday as of old, that the people walked in the fields and Castlehill, that barbers[3] trimmed and carried home on the Lord's Day the gentlemen's wigs; that the churches were not full as once they were, and it became as fashionable for gentry to stay away from worship as it had formerly been for them to attend it.[4] Indifference to religious forms, with more laxity of talk, faith, and morals, was lamented as the prevailing mark of these latter days.[5]

A reaction set in, however, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A wave of evangelicalism passed over Scotland, submerging the stagnant "moderatism," and left as

[1] Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time*, p. 42.

[2] Creech's *Fugitive Pieces;* Mackenzie's *Life and Writings of John Home.*

[3] Plaintive appeals against the custom of employing barbers to dress wigs on Sabbath were issued, warning fellow-barbers against conduct "which encourages others to walk abroad and recreate themselves to the ruin of their souls." "Blush," writes a pious barber, "and disdain as candidates for immortality to countenance that practice which must draw down the vengeance of Heaven upon you."—*Letter to the Barbers and Hairdressers labouring at their ordinary Employment on the Lord's Day*, by Jas. Robertson, 1794; *Friendly Advice to Barbers dressing on the Lord's Day*, by several of the same business, Edin. 1788.

[4] On neglect of worship by gentry and people of fashion, see Creech's *Fugitive Pieces; Stat. Acct. Scotland*, xi. 165. A minister bitterly says: "In this part of the country it is only fashionable for the low classes of the people to attend the church; the higher orders are above the vulgar prejudice of believing it is necessary to worship the God of their fathers," x. 605. Several ministers complain that the funds for the poor are sorely diminished by neglect of gentry to attend ordinances.

[5] Topham says with some wildness of statement, "Deism is the ruling principle in Scottish society."—*Letters from Edinburgh*, p. 238; see Cockburn's *Memorials*, p. 44. The likelihood is that "Scottish society" speculated on religion too little rather than too much.

its deposit a revival of religious zeal and earnestness in the land with a sterner theological tone, which—partly for good, partly for evil—renewed the traditional religious character of Scotland.

III

It is not uncommon to speak of the Scots as a priest-ridden people," as entirely under the domination of their ministers, who terrorised them by discipline in this world and by threats of the next. It is in this light that Buckle especially has represented the Scottish populace.[1] The reverse is far nearer the truth, and the ministers may rather be called a "people-ridden clergy." For this the evidence is not far to seek. The peasantry were not a class to be domineered over by Church or by State; they were too stiff and stubborn and independent for that. Theirs was a dour temper, fostered by opposition to the powers that were in Covenanting days. At that period the ministers were few and fugitive; ordinances were in the hands of the Societies, who, when grave matters were to be discussed, had no hesitation in putting the minister outside the door while they arranged affairs within. These Societies existed in every parish in the Whiggish counties, and were formed of men who met for prayer or conference. At these meetings a "question was put" for debate on theology or Scripture. Clad in their big blue bonnets and rough woollen plaiding, they would dourly dispute each point for hours at their secret gatherings in barns or farms. These religious unions remained in full force after the Revolution, composed chiefly of the Cameronians who kept by the Solemn League and Covenant, who disowned the uncovenanted sovereign, would take no oath of allegiance, and would pay no cess. They were thoroughly organised in a network of associations throughout the country. Each "Society" contained ten or twelve members, who met once a week; a combination of these societies formed an "Association," which met once a month; and these again were united in what were called "Correspondences," each of which was known by its

[1] Buckle's *Hist. of Civilisation*, vol. ii.

locality, such as the "Correspondence of Nithsdale," of Annandale, or of Fifeshire. These conclaves met every year, when grievances were ventilated, knotty points threshed out, and religious rigour and self-confidence were maintained. These men and societies proved thorns in the side of westland and south-country ministers, whose ministrations they attended only if they pleased them. But it was not necessary to be a "Society" man to be a critic.

Every word the clergyman said was noted, everything he did was scrutinised. Did he give only one sermon on a sacrament Monday? Did he keep a Fast which the State ordained, and thus show Erastianism? Did he take the oath of abjuration?—then "there was a casting at the ministers."[1] This oath, imposed on both Episcopalian and Presbyterian ministers in 1712, was a matter of abomination, for while it abjured the dynasty of Stewart, it swore support of Protestant heirs to the throne who must be members of the Church of England. Elders resigned their posts with a minister who had taken it; the people often would not have communion if they thought he would take it. "How can we take sacrament," said they, "when he may take it by Lammas?" We see poor Mr. Boston, when he resolved not to swear, and knowing there was a penalty imposed on clergymen that refused of £500, disponing all his tenements at Duns on his son, and all his goods and gear on his serving man and precentor. Next we see him at the last day for swearing with his resolution fast oozing out. "I spent much time in prayer and fasting," he relates, "but I found my courage for suffering not such as at the former taking of the oath." However, the fear of the people proved greater than the dread of the law or loss of fortune.[2] The churches of the "clear"

[1] Boston's *Memoirs*. Mr. Pollock, the minister of Tynron in 1715, desires to get free from his charge because, in regard to the divided circumstances of the parish, he could never have a communion there, that the elders and he have for a long time differed anent the lawfulness of keeping fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the Church and State upon solid grounds, as also about the oath of abjuration, and that he hath no elders or deacons since he took the said oath, that he has not above thirty, forty, or fifty hearers for ordinary, notwithstanding the largeness of his parish.—*Penpont Presby. Records*.

[2] *Memoirs*. Two-thirds of the Presbyterian ministers took the oath, but very few Episcopal ministers; no one, however, after all their mental agony and

ministers (those who were "clear" being in favour of it) were deserted by the people, who would not receive the elements from one who dared to "take the crown off Christ's head and put it on the Queen's." It is with no little bitterness that Boston speaks of the natives of Ettrick as turbulent spirits, "great swearers, but praying persons," "naturally smart and of uncommon assurance, self-conceited, and censorious to a pitch, using an indecent freedom with Church and State." In their discomfort the much vexed and nagged ministers sometimes speak strongly of their parishioners, especially of the "society" class, as "ignorant and of a pharisaic set, highly conceited of themselves, and despising others," and in his wrath a greatly provoked minister classes them with "worldly worms and profane wretches—enemies of the Church."[1]

After patronage was reinstituted in 1712 there was a frequent outbreak of stubborn resistance. Incessant riots and tumults took place when clergy were inducted whom the people had not chosen, and many churches remained vacant for years while the heritors placidly and patiently pocketed the stipends. Presbyteries were sometimes too much in sympathy with the people, and more often too much afraid of them, to ordain unwelcome presentees; and the General Assembly at last was forced to appoint what were called "riding committees," to travel to parishes where local ministers would not, or dared not instal.

Another matter brought forth the independence of the "priest-ridden" people. In 1736 the famous Porteous Riot occurred in Edinburgh with its subsequent civil and ecclesiastical strife. Captain Porteous of the Town Guard had fired on the mob who were trying to rescue George Wilson, a smuggler, therefore a popular hero, and some people were killed. After having been sentenced to death Porteous was reprieved, but the infuriated mob, dragging him from his refuge in the Tolbooth jail, hanged the poor wretch in the Grassmarket on a dyer's pole which projected from a shop. Thereupon the Government ordered a proclamation to be made in every pulpit before

perplexity had to pay the threatened forfeit.—Burton's *Hist. of Scot.* 1689-1748, vol. ii. pp. 44-55. The oath was modified in 1719.

[1] *Hog of Carnock's Life*, p. 99; Wodrow's *Correspondence*, Sept. 4, 1709.

sermon on the first day of each month for a whole year, in which the perpetrators of the crime were commanded to give themselves up, and all who sheltered them threatened with heavy penalty. This preposterous order was greeted as blasphemous desecration of the Sabbath, every minister who read it was accused of celebrating the death of a murderer before the death of the Saviour. People would not take communion with any man who "put Cæsar above Christ," and many left the churches never to return.[1] It was a perplexing time for the luckless clergy, for many had themselves as much scruple at reading the proclamation as their congregation had against hearing it; many disobeyed, but others complied, fearing to offend the law while dreading the face of their people. Eminently discreet was that minister who before reading it told the congregation to withdraw from the kirk, for though he was bound to read it, they were not bound to listen to it, on which they left in a body. In all these scenes the submission of the clergy to the people was more conspicuous than the docility of the laity to the Church. In estimating the harshness and tyranny of the Church it is invariably forgotten, but should be remembered that it was really a tyranny of the laity more than of the clergy, for a Kirk-Session contained about six elders, representatives of the people, to one minister who must carry out the decisions.

Brought up in stern theology of Calvin, accustomed to preaching which was purely doctrinal, to hear sermons which taught that salvation was won by trusting to the atonement and in making a bargain with Christ, the people in many districts despised and detested all "legal preachers," who taught morality and dared to suggest that to do the duties of life formed an element of Christianity.[2] They loved men who pandered to their taste, who denounced all teaching of morality as causing men to trust in their "filthy rags of self righteousness." They loved a teacher rustic like themselves, familiar in his style, rude and uncultivated in manners and mind, and they

[1] Eleven Seceding congregations were chiefly formed of these malcontents.

[2] "I observe," says Colonel Blackadder, "when a young man sets up as a high-flyer, and to win applause and a name for strictness among country people, the best way to attain his end is to run down locality and morality."—*Life of Blackadder*, p. 491.

chose such when they had power, or created turmoil in the parish when such they could not get.[1]

The same spirit of independence and tyranny of the people showed itself in the Highlands. There certain individuals often utterly illiterate gained prominent positions from their piety and their austerity of life and doctrine, and were looked upon as peculiarly holy and specially guided by divine grace. Their words were listened to with superstitious reverence, their oracular utterances became memorable, their unctuous Gaelic prayers seemed of miraculous efficacy, and they were credited with power of foreseeing the future, as by spiritual second sight. Such persons were known as "the Men," in contradistinction to the mere ministers. If the clergymen were not gospel and orthodox in their eyes, they quitted the kirks with disgust, and held meetings for prayer and discourse with the people who docilely followed them, and listened, as to the voice of inspiration, to these spiritual despots.[2]

At the kirk these sanctimonious "Men" took their station near the "lattron" or precentor's desk, their huge cloaks down to their heels, napkins bound round their heads, and their long hair hanging down on their shoulders, to show how they despised the fashion of combing. While the service went on they kept up a muttering nasal whisper—either of comment or spiritual communing—for their position and reputation required them to preserve a peculiarly devout and critical air before the congregation.[3] Greatest were they at the Fellowship Meeting on the Friday before the communion.

[1] "Lord President Dundas told the General Assembly how a number of candidates preached for a parish in Clydesdale without success. At last a young man took their fancy. 'Sir,' said the patron, 'there are two nails in the pulpit, on one of which the late worthy minister used to hang his hat. If you put your hat on the right one it will please, none of the others have hit upon it.' He did so, and got the place. Another candidate preached with a bad cold; he had forgot his handkerchief, and was obliged to wipe his nose with his hand. This was a popular action, and the people fixed upon 'a homely lad that blew his nose with his loof.'"—Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, ii. 354.

[2] Auld's *Men and Ministers of the North.* "Men of prayer and admitted at the throne into singular intimacy of fellowship, evidenced by their obtaining special direction in the perplexities of others, and in receiving intimations of the Lord's mind as to the present and future events of providence."—Kennedy's *Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire*, pp. 78, 112.

[3] Sage's *Memorabilia Domestica;* Auld's *Men of North.*

The minister presided, and after devotional exercises one of the men was asked "to propose a question"—just as in the old Galloway "Societies." Thereupon some stood up and gave out the question for discussion—such as election or justification—and then the debate went on. Though some of the most eminent and feared "Men of the North" could neither write nor read either English or Gaelic, their acquaintance with Scripture was marvellous and formidable. Even the minister found his own sermons freely criticised in his presence by men whose inspiration was drawn from a higher source than human books. The minister, if he were Evangelical, meekly listened and humbly learned; the minister, if he were a Moderate, listened with chagrin, but bore the self-confident pious talk which he in his soul despised.

At last in self-defence the clergy in Sutherland made the Fast Day on the Friday instead of Thursday, to put an end to the cavilling meetings at which the Fast Day preachers were unceremoniously overhauled; but the people rose and complained that their "time of preparation for the solemnity was shortened," and the Assembly thought it prudent to let them have their own way. These "Men of the North" were all-powerful through successive generations up to our own day, but they passed in 1843 from the Church of Scotland to the Free Church.[1]

From Cameronian Societies in the beginning of the century to Fellowship meetings at the end of it, the temper of the people was obviously not that of a "priest-ridden" race.

IV

Any review of the religious life of the country would be incomplete if it left unnoticed the dissenting element, which was one of the most characteristic features in Scottish social life.

The Church of Scotland had undisputed sway in the land

[1] Morren's *Annals of General Assembly*. The minister of Llanbryde, evidently a "Moderate," bitterly states that in his parish "the only pleasure of the people consists in numbers from ten to twelve meeting to converse on the abstrusest points of Calvinism, praying, and lamenting the degeneracy of the age."—*Stat. Acc. Scot.* ix. 177. "The Men," *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxxiii.

for many years after the Revolution. Except the small, unobtrusive sect of Episcopalians and the discontented Cameronians under the leadership of Macmillan, the minister of Balmaghie, there was practically no dissent. The authority of the Church was undisputed; the position of the parish ministers was without a rival. In 1737, however, there was formed the first grave Secession from the Kirk. The General Assembly in 1732 had passed an Act, among many others, dealing with the never-ending, ever-renewing troubles connected with patronage; and according to this Act, the right of election was to pass into the hands of the heritors and elders of a parish, in the event of patrons not presenting a minister to a vacant charge within six months. This law, because it utterly ignored the interests and wishes of the parishioners, caused the utmost disaffection among the people and their leaders in the Church. The Rev. Ebenezer Erskine denounced in the Assembly this "respect for persons with gold ring and gay clothing beyond the man with vile raiment and poor attire." For acting contumaciously against ecclesiastical authority Erskine and three other ministers were deposed; and in 1733 these four stalwart friends of the people met in a little thatched cottage near Kinross, and after a day spent in prayer and fasting, they formed themselves into the "Associate Presbytery." The Church, startled at the effect of its hasty and harsh deposition of faithful but stubborn ministers, tried to undo their action and recall them to their fold, but they shook the Erastian dust from their feet, and in 1737, with the powerful accession of Ebenezer Erskine's brother Ralph, the Associate Synod was formed, and began its career as a powerful sect.

Now began a new phase of Scottish religious life, and the "Seceders" became a distinct type of men in Scotland, adding a bitterness to religious spirit and an animation to the social life. Adherents followed the Secession leaders with keen ardour. When little meeting-houses and manses were to be built they carted stones to rear the walls, carried on horseback the loads of heather or turf to thatch the roofs, and fuel, or "elding," of wood or peat, for the fires. To be present at the communions, where the few faithful ministers served, devotees would travel thirty or forty miles, and gather from thirty

parishes around to hear the Word. In Fifeshire they assembled at Ceres in their thousands, sat down on the grass to listen for long hours to the preachings of the Erskines till the night set, and took their places at the tables, to which they were admitted by "tokens," consisting of little bits of leather. Bereft of any pure gospel ministry, the people journeyed from St. Andrews to Abernethy, twenty-two miles' distance, to receive the ministrations of the saintly Mr. Alexander Moncreiff, setting forth near midnight on Saturday night carrying lanterns to light them over the rough paths and moors, and hiding them in the whins in the day-time. Then, when at night the Sabbath communion services were over,[1] they set forth in the dark once more, travelling all night, and weary, foot-sore, and hungry, returned through the streets of St. Andrews in early morning amid the jeers of reprobate students.[2]

In their houses they would debate the vital questions in the Confession or the Covenant on the Headship of Christ and the "moderation of calls," till the day dawned and the birds began to twitter in the thatch. The spiritual pasture of the worthy zealots was found in the works of Manton and Boston, in Pike's *Case of Conscience* and Wellwood's *Glimpse of Glory*, and the chapbooks giving the lives, prophecies, and dying words of the saintly Cargill, Cameron, and Renwick.[3] When Wednesday evening came for exercises in the meeting-house, young people were catechised in the *Testimony of the Associate Synod*, a pretentious, verbose, fanatical manifesto, in which the principles of the Secession are declared, and the want of principles in the Establishment is denounced.[4] Amongst the sins of the Church and State which deserve reprobation are enumerated

[1] "Sept. 10, 1737.—The sacrament was in Dunfermline, and I preached half an hour before the action began about half before eight in the morning. The tables began a little after nine, and continued till about twelve o'clock at night, there being about 5000 communicants. I hear from several hands that the Lord owned the occasion."—*Diary of Ralph Erskine.*

[2] Mr. Troup preached in a field to a congregation drawn from seventeen parishes, and made a profound impression by a sermon from the text in Isaiah, "Like a crane or a swallow, so do I chatter."—M'Kelvie's *Annals of the U.P. Church*, p. 90.

[3] Scott's *Annals of the Orig. Secession Church*, pp. 17, 33.

[4] *Acts of Associate Presbytery concerning the Doctrine of Grace in* 1742, Glasgow, 1780.

the condemnation by the Assembly of the *Marrow of Divinity*, their condonation of the heresies of Simson and Campbell, the intrusion of unpopular ministers in parishes, the neglect of the rights of the people, the existence of "legal preachers," and the repeal of the Act against witchcraft—thereby dethroning God's Word. Besides this portentous document, the narratives of the battles of Drumclog and Bothwell Brig were also recited to keep great things in memory.

Into this Seceding community drifted every person with a pious grievance. There the people belonging to the "Societies" found a congenial home for their principles. There went all whose souls were vexed by the "legalists" or preachers of morality. Thither resorted all whose consciences were grieved by the precentor no longer giving out the "run-line" before singing it, or by his using a pitchfork to set the tune. There passed in discontent those who could not endure the use in praise of the human "Paraphrases" which the Church had sanctioned, instead of the divine words of David—people who had shut their psalm-book with a slam when a paraphrase had been "given out," looking round at startled hearers with defiant triumph.

There, too, passed those who had been scandalised by ministers reading the iniquitous Porteous Act, and those who were fascinated by the open-air communions, which the Church was giving up.[1] Meanwhile, every time an unpopular minister was thrust on a congregation by patrons there were more secessions from the Church and more accessions to the Dissenters. These people's independence, like the Whiggism of their politics and the Covenanting in their religion, was intensely conservative—conservative of their own rights, of their old faith, customs, practices. It is the peculiarity of Scottish dissent that it never arose from love of change, from any breaking forth of new views and opinions. It was rather a determination to preserve more purely the creed and habits of their fathers. In fact, radical as Scottish temperament is called, it was then not the radicalism of those who uproot old institutions

[1] M'Kelvie, *Annals of the U.P. Church*, p. 384. Out of dissatisfaction with presentees thrust on them in fourteen parishes eight Seceding congregations entirely formed.—*Ibid.* p. 14.

and seek out new paths; it was really a conservatism as keen as that of the Jacobite in resistance to change, whether in dress or in farming, in social customs, or in theology and worship.

The Seceders, in their stubbornness and bigotry, only reflected the character of their chosen leaders, the Erskines, Fisher, Moncreiff, and Wilson.[1] This fact was painfully experienced by the Rev. George Whitfield. At the invitation of these men, the great Calvinistic Methodist arrived at Dunfermline, and he preached to rapt thousands—"the rustle of the multitude of Bibles being such as he had never witnessed before." Quickly he discovered that his friends were pure fanatics. "I asked," says Whitfield, "what they would have me do?" The answer was that he should preach only to them, because they only were the Lord's people. The party broke up, Whitfield declaring his duty was rather to preach to the devil's people, and in the meeting-house to which they adjourned one of the ministers preached on the text, "Watchman, what of the night?" denouncing prayer-book and surplice, and the rose in the hat, till his voice was clean gone. An open breach soon followed. In a little dingy room the grim Seceders disputed far into the night with the English churchman on their church polity. "I do not find it here," said Whitfield, with his hand on his heart. "But I find it there!" answered Mr. Moncreiff of Culfargie, rapping the open Bible in anger. "I retired," relates Whitfield, "I wept, I prayed, and after preaching in the fields, sat down, dined with them, and took final leave. Lord, what is man, what the best of men but men at the best? I have seen an end of all perfection," exclaimed the disgusted Methodist. Thus ended a curious, brief, ill-assorted alliance of genial and grim evangelists.[2]

[1] Wesley's opinion is strongly expressed: "I have not yet met a Papist who would say to my face that all but themselves would be damned; but I have seen Seceders who make no scruple to affirm that none but themselves will be saved."—Southey's *Life of Wesley*, ii. 136.

[2] Rev. Adam Gib wrote a massive pamphlet entitled, "Warning against countenancing the ministrations of Mr. G. W., together with an Appendix, wherein are shown that Mr. W. is no minister of Jesus Christ, that his call and coming to Scotland are scandalous, that his practice is disorderly, that his whole doctrine must be diabolical, so that people ought to avoid it from duty to God, to the Church, and to themselves," 1742.—Tyerman's *Life of Whitfield*.

The antipathy to everything Erastian was poured forth freely. Instead of hailing the revivals of Cambuslang and Kilsyth with satisfaction, they denounced them as a "delusion," as a device of Satan, as a miserable attempt of the Kirk to regain popularity, as "a manifestation, not of the Spirit, but of hell."[1] Whitfield, who had lent his powerful aid to the movement, was now stigmatised as a "cheat," an impostor, an emissary of the devil. That no good thing could come out of a polluted Establishment was the conviction of Seceders; it was a matter for discipline to enter the kirk, it was a sin to take communion from a minister's hands, while to have had any contact with Episcopacy was an iniquity. Masons who took part in building an Episcopal meeting-house—derisively called "a whistling kirk," from its organ—were excommunicated from all "sealing ordinances."[2] Oaths in any form, even by bakers and masons on entering their guilds and societies, were reprobated, and offenders were straightway put under discipline. The fullest opportunity for displaying their purity was at communion in "purging the roll," as correcting the list of communicants was called, and at "fencing the tables," when all persons "unfit to wait on the Lord" were debarred from the Supper. In the "debarrance" some Seceding ministers excluded all who visited the parish kirk or danced "promiscuous"—man opposite to a woman, or woman dancing opposite a man—all who had *committed* or attempted suicide, all witches and warlocks, and from the table even the Pope and the devil were warned off to make their society select. All persons were excluded if in the least unworthy, and yet in the next breath

[1] *Review of Preface to Narrative of Extraordinary Work at Kilsyth*, by James Fisher, minister of Associate congregation at Glasgow, 1742.

[2] Shuttle Street congregation, Glasgow, in 1750 excommunicated a mason as guilty of contumaciousness in persisting in the great sin and scandal in the building of the "Episcopal meeting-house."—*Glasgow Past and Present*, iii. 327. Associate Session at Balfron in 1749 and in 1756 put under discipline persons who took the mason's oath, the constable's oath, and the chapman's oath.—P. 45, Smith's *Strathendrick*. They also forbade the dancing of men and women together, which the ministers called promiscuous dancing, and the common people called "promisky."—Hall's *Travels*, i. 203. Hogg's *Jacobite Relics*, 1819, p. 209. At the Balfron Secession meeting-house one woman, called to account for taking sacrament at the parish church, expressed deep penitence, and acknowledged that after going to the church "a deadness grew upon her soul."—Smith's *Strathendrick*, p. 45.

all were affectionately invited who loved the Lord; so that Christian Seceders were in perplexity what to do between the particular fencing and the general invitation.[1]

The Associate Synod was composed of men and women who mistook seeking a grievance for searching for truth, persons of a difficult temper, whose convictions turned up at unexpected corners, and whose consciences wound themselves round a scruple like a hedgehog round a straw. It was inevitable that beings who differed so severely from all the world should soon differ with each other, and this certainly took place.

A curious emergency came to disrupt the body when it was only nine years old. A new burgess oath was in 1746 imposed on all citizens on assuming office, which ran thus: "I protest before God that I profess and allow the true religion presently professed in this realm and authorised by the laws thereof. I shall abide thereto and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry." Here a formidable difficulty arose. Did this oath express the burgher's acknowledgment of the religious establishments of England and Scotland, laden as they were with heinous errors, as the "true religion?" or did it merely express approval of them only in so far as they were "true"? Here was the rock on which the Synod struck and was shivered in twain. Pamphlets, discourses, tractates, came forth in ill-printed, vehement thousands discussing this momentous dilemma. Scotland at the time was in rebellion and turmoil, parishes were disturbed by raids of wild Highlanders, men were enrolling as volunteers to resist the Pretender, and stolid ministers who could not wield a toasting fork were anxious to tie on pouches for their ammunition, to shoulder muskets they could barely load, and to be drilled with their communicants; the Church was holding fast and humiliation days to stay the divine judgment in a civil war. And while all these events

[1] An old Seceder said of these alternate invitations and menaces, "I can make nothing of it at a'; that man [the minister] first shoo'ed (chased) us a' oot, and then he shoo'ed us a' in."—Macfarlane's *Life of G. Lawson, D.D.*, p. 81. By the minister persons were invited to the table who have understood "Christ's fulness and furniture, His satisfaction and sweetness."—P. 34, *Sermon at Linktown at Abbotshall*, by Rev. Robert Shirra, 1751.

were agitating the nation Seceders were busy debating in cottage, fair, and market, and meeting the mighty question, "Can the burgher's oath be taken without sin?" In 1747 the Seceding Synod met in Edinburgh, to meet no more. The majority decided that the oath was sinful, and declared that those who took it should be cast from its communion. The minority withdrew, including the Erskines, founders of this body which now excommunicated their spiritual fathers. In grief and consternation they had prayers and fasting, and a day of humiliation was held because "the Lord had divided them in His anger, and covered the daughter of Zion with a thick cloud, and given them in His anger the wine of astonishment to drink."

From that hour old Seceders were divided into the Burgher or "Associate Synod," and the Anti-burgher or "General Associate Synod," not to be reunited for seventy-three years.[1] In every district there was dissension and strife; people who before united in denouncing the Establishment, now denounced each other with equal vehemence, they debarred from each other's communion those guilty of "promiscuous hearing"[2] as well as the iniquitous promiscuous dancing; those so forgetful of their principles as to attend the ministration at each other's meeting-houses, and they next fought amongst themselves as to whether the elements should be "lifted" before or after the consecrating prayer at communion; until West country Seceders were divided into the hostile parties of "lifters" and "anti-lifters," who would have no intercourse with each other.[3]

To carry on to a conclusion the bewildering tale of seceding

[1] In 1827, when the two bodies, becoming of one mind, were at last reunited.

[2] In 1751 "It was reported that John Collier (Anti-burgher) had witnessed his brother being married by a Burgher minister. He was called, compeared, and was interrogated why he did so? Answered he did it in his simplicity. Was interrogated if he saw any evil in it, as it was in some measure giving up his profession? Answered he did. Being interrogated if he resolved, in the strength of grace, not to do the like afterwards? Answered in the affirmative. He being removed, the Session agreed that he be rebuked and admonished."—*Memorials of Dunikier Church*, by Rev. W. Fairweather.

[3] *Eirenicon: An Inquiry into Importance of present Debate amongst Seceders relating to Manner of Administering the Lord's Supper*, by J. Ramsay, minister of gospel, Glasgow, 1782; Mackerrow's *Hist. of Secession Church*, p. 326.

divisions, which has its humorous as well as its pathetic aspects, we come to another rupture in that communion, which divided it into new bodies with separate individual life and functions with the ease of a polype. This new dispute was to split the Burgher Seceders into "Old Lights" and "New Lights." The Burgher, or Associate Synod, while still retaining the Solemn League and Covenant as a standard, declared that they would not require its members and ministers to approve of civil compulsion in religious matters, or to hold that the magistrate should interfere to punish error. When this resolution was carried the minority, stanch for the perpetual obligation of the Covenant, quitted in disgust the apostate Synod for issuing a Declaratory Act so false to its creed. They assumed the name of Original Burghers, but were popularly known as the "Old Lights," in opposition to those who pretended to have "new light" on the Solemn League and Covenant. In this way the "Auld Lichts" originated—a body which was one of the most stubborn and self-convinced of little religious communities still lingering on obscurely in perfect conviction.

Amid all this strange, perplexing maze of dissent, multiplying into manifold sections—Presbyteries, Synods, General and Associate, Old Lights and New Lights—there are brought out curious phases of Scottish life and character. All these scenes, all these quarrels and controversies over points which are now pointless, and questions not worth answering, enable us to understand the temper of the old Covenanters in their stubborn resistance to Prelacy and the State.[1]

Yet another sect emerged from the disquiet of the times and the grievances of the people in being deprived of their election of a minister. This became known as the "Relief Kirk." It had its origin in the deposition of Thomas Gillespie, the minister of Carnock, for disobeying the orders of the Assembly to ordain a presentee unpopular with the parishioners. It was a harsh, high-handed measure, dealt by the Moderates in 1746 to a good man, while others as con-

[1] Registrar of Stirling Kirk-Session at the end of 1743, records:—"If any names are wanting in this year, it is to the disorderlyness of the Associates who will not pay their dues." Seceding ministers forbade their followers using the parochial register or recognising the Church.—Rogers' *Social Life*, i. 138.

tumacious as himself were left unpunished. As he arrived at his manse gate the day after his fate was decided, he told his wife, who went to meet him at the gate, that he was no longer minister of Carnock. "Well, Thomas," said the brave woman, "if we must beg I'll carry the meal poke."[1] On Sundays, behind his manse, great crowds attended his ministrations, and all alone he worked, visited, preached, holding communions in the fields, exhorting seven tables one after another, preaching on Fast Days, till his voice was worn, for he had none to help or countenance him. At last in 1761, with Mr. Thomas Boston of Jedburgh, son of the author of the *Fourfold State*, and Collier, an English dissenting minister, he founded a Presbytery, "for the relief of Christians oppressed in their Christian privileges." Thus was the Relief Church added to dissent, yet not directly hostile to the Establishment, without the bigotry and fanaticism of the more pronounced Seceders.[2]

Dissent, much as it is to be regretted as disastrous to peace, unity, and charity, was not without its advantages to the Established Church. For it carried off the ill-humours of the religious body into congenial sects, and gave every one who was opinionative, fanatical, and stubborn, a communion where he could find rest for himself and give no trouble to others. If persons with such moods and temperaments had continued in the Church they would have perpetually disturbed its quiet, and seriously hampered its progress and development.[3]

The fathers of the Secession, the Erskines, Moncreiff, who was Laird of Culfargie, and others, were men of gentle birth, although, according to the way of their time, they were plain-mannered, rustic in style, and broad in speech. But those who came after them—like those who succeeded Wesley and Whitfield in England—were of common origin, of the weaver, cotter, and small farmer class, sons of what biographers vaguely call "poor but pious parents." Nor was their education such as to give them polish and culture. Mr. Wilson

[1] Struthers' *Hist. of the Relief Church*, p. 93.

[2] Gillespie at the end of his life expressed his wish that the Relief body should return to the Establishment.

[3] In 1765 there were 120 meeting-houses attended by 100,000 persons.

was appointed the "professor of divinity" by the Associate Seceders, his little thatched house was his college, and the students paid their fees of five shillings, or ten shillings if they were able to pay it. In Abernethy Mr. Moncreiff also taught a few of these humble lads, who lodged cheaply in the cottages around, and after the session was over worked at their trades or in the fields at home. When licensed to preach the probationers travelled from place to place, long distances, to fill vacant pulpits for a Sunday, usually trudging on foot, sometimes on a meagre pony, carrying their leathern saddle-bags containing their papers, sermons, and scanty wardrobe. When a poor man decided to train his son for the ministry he would say to him, "I'll carry you on till I put you on the saddle-bags."[1] Arrived at his destination, he would lodge from Friday to Monday with some member of the little congregation, get his fee, and start on the road again. The "placed minister" had hard toil: three sermons on Sabbath, another on Wednesday, communions which with sermons, addresses, "evening direction to participants," continued from ten in the morning till late in the night, visiting, catechising, and humouring the most exacting of folk. The manners of these pastors were rustic, their ways uncouth, their Scots the broadest with the much revered "drant" or drawl of gospel-preachers of old, with quaint, familiar speech to God and man. But grace in manner was considered by the worthy Seceding ministers a hindrance and offence in those who had the grace of God.[2]

In course of time there were in the ranks of the Seceders men of considerable learning, of no little ability; possessed of the saving grace of humour to temper their old-fashioned dogmas. The Burghers and Anti-burghers, the Reformed

[1] Macfarlane's *Life of Lawson*, p. 52.

[2] In 1761 the Anti-burgher Synod cautioned students against "an affected pedantry in style and pronunciation and politeness of expression in delivering the truth of the gospel, as by a using the enticing words of men's wisdom inconsistent with that gravity that the weight of the gospel requires, and as from proceeding from an affectation to accommodate the gospel in point of style, which, if not prevented, may at length issue in attempts to accommodate it also in point of matter to the corrupted style of a carnal generation." In 1784 the Burghers' Synod expressed concern at a "growing fondness for false refinement and abstract reasoning in handling the truths of the gospel."

Presbyterians (who had been old Cameronians) fostered, no doubt, division and dogmatism in the people; but without them, and without the little body of Glassites, founded by the simple-hearted minister of Tealing in 1730, with its abstinence from things strangled, the kiss of greeting, the love feasts of homely broth, Scotland would have lost some of its quaintest aspects of social life.

V

In the religious life of Scotland of the eighteenth century Episcopacy plays an inconspicuous part, though in its social life it formed a picturesque element. Its influence was confined to the small number of its adherents in the Lowlands and the far-off members north of the Forth. It was a quiet and unemotional communion, which stirred no great interests, formed no active movement; and as the sect was so closely allied with the Jacobite party, and under the bann of severe laws, it felt that it was safest when it was least heard of, and most prosperous when it was obscure.

When Presbytery was re-established, the Episcopal ministers who would not conform to the new *régime*, or were not allowed to continue in their places in defiance of it, were reduced to sore straits to earn a livelihood. Many, as we have seen, were forced to seek employment in trades; others became chaplains in Jacobite families, where for £5 a year, "with board and washing," they tutorised the children, said grace at meat, read the prayers, and went the household errands. Not a few were reduced to destitution and unable to work or to find work, were forced to seek charity from the parish poor-box to save their families from starvation.[1] In the north and eastern counties many were able to retain their livings, partly because the Church had no Gaelic preachers to put in their place, partly because the people were too much in their favour to allow them to be ousted from their posts; but others still hovered round their old parishes, holding furtive services in private houses and barns to their scattered flocks, while the

[1] "1722, Sept. 30: Given by the minister's order to an Episcopal minister £1:10s. Scots." "Aug. 18, 1732: To an old distressed Episcopal minister 10 Scots."—Kirk-Session of Morham, *New Stat. Acct. of Scot.*

Presbyteries issued their "letters of horning" against these "intruders" and "meeting-house keepers." In Edinburgh and a few other towns these preachers had some small lodgings in which they converted a room into a chapel.[1] In 1716 there seems to have been no fewer than twenty-two of these Episcopal ministers somehow attached to ten unqualified "meeting-places," which were located in high flats in dingy wynds, to which of a Sunday the loyal adherents ascended, picking their steps on the dirty turnpike stairs. Simple was the equipment of these chapels: two bedrooms were united by the wooden partition being removed; a desk, a few chairs or forms, in which postures were miscellaneous. The stipends were small, only £10 or £12 a year; the collections were mean, and the seat rents of a shilling or so annually barely paid the house rent.[2] Few of these men had taken the oath of allegiance, and they were, therefore, liable to punishment as "unqualified" preachers; and even when obliged to pray for the sovereign and for the royal family, they made their petitions so equivocal that the authorities could not decide whether Hanoverian or Stewart was being interceded for, and Providence and the preacher only knew. The Bishops vanished into obscurity and fell into poverty, the people watching with derision the passing of the "fourteen blackbirds," as they nicknamed the good prelates. Troubles which afflicted the ministers were not escaped by the luckless schoolmasters who were at the mercy of the new Presbyterian rulers; they must now subscribe the Confession of Faith or be dismissed. In vain one would plead that "he had no time by reason of severall divertisements to consider it fully;" or that he had considered a great part of it, but not so fully as he would wish to do." They were remorselessly expelled though there were none to take their places,[3] and driven to beggary.

The Episcopalian service had usually been, as in olden times,

[1] Chambers' *Domestic Annals*, iii. 366. Twenty-one of them were fined £20 sterling each—one-half to informer, other half to poor—for officiating without qualifying by taking the oaths. If too poor to pay they sought refuge in the Abbey Sanctuary for debtors.—Arnot's *Criminal Trials*, p. 343.

[2] Ruddiman, the grammarian, pays for two years' seat rent forty shillings Scots, or 3s. 4d. sterling.—Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 37.

[3] At Insch in 1709; at Inverurie in 1710.—Davidson's *Inverurie*, p. 424.

extempore effusions, though some ministers had ventured timidly to read the English prayers; but in 1709 the whole soul of Edinburgh people, ministers and magistrates, was agitated by the news that Mr. James Greenshields, an Episcopal though "qualified" minister, read the English Service-book in the dwelling-house, of which the rent was £6, in a close, which he had made into meeting-house by removing partitions between the rooms.[1] The landlord proceeded legally against him for spoiling his house by breaking his walls; the magistrates proceeded against him for using Prelatic books and breaking the law. It is true that no statute existed forbidding the Prayer-book, yet the Court of Session curiously supported the magistrates' contention, that "There needs no law condemning the English service, for the introduction of the Presbyterian worship explodes it as inconsistent," and Greenshields was lodged in the Tolbooth jail, where he remained for a year, till the House of Lords ordered his release, and in 1711 reversed the Scots' decision against him. But nothing could allay the popular and Presbyterial indignation against the Liturgy—even a private chaplain might be threatened if he did not desist from reading it in a drawing-room or hall of a mansion. The Earl Marischal's chaplain was prosecuted by the magistrates and threatened by the Lord Advocate; Lord Carnwath was menaced that his house would be burnt over his head if he did not prevent his chaplain reading the iniquitous book, so the preacher discreetly departed.[2]

In Glasgow the conduct of one Mr. Adam Cockburn was a subject of great tribulation.[3] This preacher—"an immoral and profane wretch," says Mr. Wodrow, "and very silly"—set up his worship in an obscure wynd; and the populace of that austere city watched him in angry blue-bonnetted

[1] Burton's *Hist. of Scotland* (1688-1748), vol. i.; Burton's *Criminal Trials*, ii. 295; Defoe's *Hist. of Union*, 1712 (Defoe, though keen dissenter, favours the prosecution of Greenshields, the Episcopal dissenter, for his insistence on religious liberty); Lockhart's *Papers*, i. 349.

[2] Chambers' *Domestic Annals*, iii. 366.

[3] Wodrow's *Correspondence*, i. 562. The introduction of English Service-books, whether by "profane wretches" or honest men, was equally a source of soul-searching with worthy Wodrow. "The Lord pity us!" the good man exclaims, when recording places where the woeful book was used.—*Analecta.*

crowds, as he in his gown audaciously read the English service in the churchyard over an English soldier's grave; they watched him coming down the narrow close in the Gorbals, where he had in his canonicals baptized a baby with English forms; and the boys all trooped around him and followed his retreating footsteps, shouting that favourite derisive nickname of the curates, "Amen!" "Amen!" When even the children cried out it was impossible for the people to keep silence at this modified idolatry, and to prove their pious zeal they one August evening in 1714 pulled down the humble chapel, tore the offending gown to tatters; and the terrified minister and his wife fled for their lives. Thus exit "Amen" Cockburn, his "minced oaths," and his impudent flaunting of Prelacy. Public Episcopal worship ceased for years to come in the orthodox royalty of Glasgow, and the coaches of my Lord Mar and Jacobite country gentlemen ceased to rumble along the roads of a Sabbath morning to worship God erroneously, and to scandalise the citizens as they went by the Trongate to the true kirk.[1]

It is evident that even the peasantry who were well affected to Episcopacy preferred it with the olden simplicity when it was the Kirk established, and, loving nothing that was English, they cared not dearly for the English Service-books. In the North many of their ministers continued forms as simple as any Presbyterian Church. At Auchterarder in 1711, where a funeral service was read with canonical gown, the Episcopalians of the crowd were as keen as the Presbyterians in the riot of the kirkyard, and they chased the "liturgyman" from the grave.[2] Surplices were not worn by the ministers; and plain

[1] The event called for a popular song of triumph, entitled, "Downfall of Cockburn's Meeting-House," set to a favourite air :—

> We have not yet forgot, Sir,
> How Cockburn's kirk was broke, Sir,
> The pulpit gown was pulled down
> And turned into nought, Sir.
> * * * *
> The chess-boards they were broke, Sir,
> Out o'er the window cast, Sir,
> With a convoy of holo hoi,
> Unto the streets were sent, Sir. etc.
>
> *New Book of Old Ballads*, edit. by Maidment.

[2] Wodrow's *Analecta*, ii. 30. The Liturgy, "so far from being desired by the people of Scotland, that even those who frequent their meetings that are of

black gowns were used even by the bishops.[1] But gradually, as the Scots Episcopal body was thrown more and more into dependence on the English Church, services, postures, festivals conformed to English forms, and after the Union, in two years 1900 copies of the Prayer-book were sent from Oxford.

For a few years things went quietly within the unobtrusive Episcopal society. The law requiring the taking of the oath of allegiance was not harshly enforced, and whether Queen Anne or the Chevalier was prayed for in the insignificant meeting-rooms was a matter of indifference both to the world and to monarchs. When, however, in the Rebellion of 1715 the Episcopal party allied themselves so closely with the Pretender's cause, and their laymen and preachers had shown themselves keen Jacobites, they were taken more seriously.[2] With heavy hand the law fell on them, forbidding any minister who had not taken the oath of allegiance to perform service to a number of people exceeding eight, including his own family. Worse still became matters after the Rebellion of '45, in which all non-jurors were on the side of Prince Charles, and the great majority of Episcopalians were non-jurors.

Jacobitism and Episcopacy in Scotland became closely identified, and in many places were almost synonymous, so that their meetings were regarded as nurseries of treason. To suppress them measures were carried on in right earnest, and executed by the soldiers of the Duke of Cumberland with brutality.

In 1746 the law was made more stringent. The congregation to which a non-qualified clergyman might preach was then limited to only four persons, and heavy penalties were laid on hearers who did not in five days inform upon an offend-

Episcopal religious principles dislike it, and are with difficulty brought to hear it. Nay, in most parts they will not comply with it, but abandon those who read it, and throng after those Episcopal ministers that disuse it."—P. 37, Defoe's *Hist. of Union*, 1712.

[1] Not till 1735 was the Prayer-book used in Aberdeen by all chapels, where Episcopacy had many followers. Even when it was adopted many alterations and excisions were made.—*Journals of Bishop Forbes*, etc., p. 172.

[2] Burt's *Letters*, i. 284. Capt. Burt when he was present noticed that when the King was prayed for by name in the Litany "the people rose up as one in contempt of it, and women set themselves about some trivial action, as taking snuff, etc., to show their dislike."—*Ibid.* i. 205; *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 368.

ing minister, while the minister himself who broke the law was made subject to six months' imprisonment for the first offence, and to banishment for life on the second. Soldiers scoured the north country, burning and wrecking these poor Episcopal chapels of thatched barns or huts. If the meeting-house stood apart from others, it was burned to the ground; if it was attached to other cottages it was pulled down; and the fugitive minister was forced to flee, sheltering in some friendly house or skulking in the woods, while his little cottage was left to the tender mercies of the plundering party.[1] In the guise of a miller Mr. John Skinner escaped from his home—just in time, for that very night it was surrounded, his poor possessions were plundered, and his thatched chapel was sacked.

Still harsher were made the laws. The four persons to whom the non-juring minister was allowed to preach had been exclusive of his own family. Now, in 1748, this considerate proviso was withdrawn. Strange and pathetic expedients were used to obey the letter of the law, and yet to defeat its purpose. In Inverness the congregation assembled in a loft with a hole in the floor, through which the voice of the pastor rose from the ground floor, in which the tiny legal-sized flock was gathered. In other places people worshipped in a barn, the minister standing in the kiln; or the room was divided by a thin partition through which the service could be heard by the worshippers on the other side.[2] Rev. John Skinner adopted the expedient of reading the service at the window of his thatched chapel, the "gentles" being admitted within if

[1] Skinner's *Hist. of Church*, ii. 663; Walker's *Life of Skinner*.

[2] Pratt's *Buchan*, p. 125. John Peters convicted in an inferior Court in spite of the contrivance of drawing a screen across the room which concealed the congregation from view; but through this they heard his discourse and made their responses.—Hume's *Commentaries on Law of Scotland*, 1797, i. 573. In some cases in several districts the people were congregated at the mansions of gentlemen—noblemen—the service being performed in a large room on the ground floor, containing the clergyman, his family, and four persons. The window frames were removed so that those outside could hear; or where two rooms were divided by folding doors, the doors were removed, and the legal flock was in one apartment and the rest listened in the other; the passages and staircases were crowded with auditors, and the minister raised his voice to be heard by as many as possible.—Lawson's *Scottish Epis. Ch.*, p. 302.

the day was wet or stormy, while the humbler sort sat or stood outside in the cold or rain, or sometimes ankle-deep in snow.

The trial of certain offenders against the statute of 1748 by the Sheriff of Kincardine brings out a vivid view of these unfortunate hunted worshippers.[1] Corporal Shaw had been sent to watch a house which he knew to be used by non-jurors for worship, and he deponed that when he went to the house there were crowded "in one room about forty persons young and old; and in the same room was a closet in which he saw Mr. Young standing in an Episcopal habit with a book in his hand in which he was reading, and he heard him in the reading several times make mention of Paul the apostle. There were two women with Mr. Young in the closet, the door whereof was open to the room." Another witness stated that "between the doors of two rooms there was a plate and bag in which persons put offerings intended for the use of Mr. Young." By such little contrivances the poor parsons tried to retain their worship and evade the law. If, however, the eye of justice or the ears of informers were too vigilant for such harmless devices, they met in a barn or shed; they had their baptisms and administered communion in the silence of a wood or the solitude of a glen.[2]

So long as the law was enforced in its harsh rigour, and a clergyman like Mr. Skinner was carried to jail for transgressing, these ministers had an irksome life of duty — for the services or festivals and Sundays were intolerably fatiguing.[3] The repressive law of 1746 had forced them to administer communion to only four persons besides the family residing in any house, but by going through the several houses of their people in turn, they might have a fresh congregation of about ten or twelve persons. The Act of 1748, however, was much more restrictive—for it included the members of the household in the four permitted as a congregation, and it restricted the preacher to one house or chapel for his services, so that he was obliged to have service after service to new quartets the whole day long.

[1] Stephen's *Hist. of Church of Scotland*, iv. 336.

[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 346; Lawson's *Hist. of Scottish Episcopal Church*, p. 302.

[3] Walker's *Life of J. Skinner*, p. 46.

What labour this entailed may be seen in the operations of the Episcopal minister of Peterhead. Before 1748 he could conduct sixteen different services in sixteen different houses—a sufficiently arduous task; but after 1748 he was forced to have new relays of his flock from morning till night, because twice sixteen were not enough to administer communion to his people. This martyrdom undergone by the stalwart non-jurors intensified their prejudices, and made them all the more bitter at their comfortable brethren who basely complied and took the oaths to Government.[1]

In the course of a few years these prosecutions and persecutions died away. As the fear of insurrection no longer frightened Parliament into intolerance; as the '45 became a mere romantic memory, and Jacobitism a harmless, romantic sentiment, the execution of the harsh laws was relaxed. With the death of Prince Charles in 1788 died all occasion for non-juring, and in 1792 old penal statutes against the Scotch Episcopalian ministers were repealed.[2]

The life of these oppressed clergy was one which appeared to no worldly or ambitious motives. They had not many adherents, and these were widely scattered, save in a few towns. Many of their members were of high degree; many were rich; but few were generous to their pastors. A wretched cottage, with walls of turf and clay, covered with heather, containing two, or at most three, little ill-lighted rooms, from whose rude

[1] The iniquitous trial and condemnation of the Rev. James Connacher, who in Highland wilds had preached and administered sacraments to large numbers and celebrated marriages, although he had not taken oaths to Government, took place in 1755. He was condemned to perpetual banishment, never to return under pain of death—sentenced under an old Act of Charles II. "forbidding celebration of marriage without being legally authorised by the Established Church of Scotland (at that period Episcopalian) or by any other legal authority," and also for celebrating it in clandestine manner. Yet other dissenting ministers could freely marry, and persons could be married civilly by mere consent without any service at all.—See Arnot's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, p. 339, etc.

[2] The Act repealing previous statutes required every Episcopal clergyman in Scotland to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles; previous to this they had no creed or articles to which they subscribed, and only professed their faith in the Scriptures, declaring that nothing which is to be found therein or may not be proved thereby is to be taught as necessary to salvation.—Lawson's *Hist.*, p. 340; Lee's *Memorials of Bible Society*.

rafters hung the family wardrobe, utensils, and provisions, furnished with a scanty "plenishing," the fire-place without a grate, and the peat kindled on the hearth—such was the usual dwelling of an Episcopal minister in rural parts of Aberdeenshire or Forfarshire. A salary of £10 to £13 allowed him only wherewith to buy oatmeal, a little meat, some rough clothing for himself and his children. He might try to add to his paltry pittance by farming a few acres of land, in which, from lack of experience and skill, he lost his time, his heart, and his money. Such was the home at Linskart of the clever, genial, cultivated John Skinner, the writer of "Tullochgorum;" only a hut with a "but and a ben"—two poor rooms, in which there were fixtures of a box-bed and a dresser.[1]

In such circumstances of poverty, persecution, and religious outlawry it is not surprising that recruits to the ministry were not many. A precarious, dependent, and threadbare existence offered few inducements for the richer classes to seek ordination from the bishops, who, themselves miserably poor, had difficulty in living in their diocese or in travelling to confirm their dispersed flocks.[2] A bishop was at times glad, in dearth of candidates, to secure youths from crofts or crafts to educate and train in his own house, for those posts where the clergyman lived as meagrely as a cotter.[3]

More quietly, more comfortably lived the law-abiding clergy who took the oaths of allegiance. They were poorly paid; they officiated in chapels of mean adornment; but they were free from trouble save when the mob got excited at the heinous sound of the organ or "kist of whistles" booming from the

[1] *Skinner's Life*, by Walker, p. 46.

[2] Great division in the unfortunate communion on questions whether the Church should be governed by a college of bishops, or by bishops in their special diocese—the difficulty of the latter plan was want of money. "Alas!" writes Bishop Fullarton in 1720, "there is none of us able to maintain ourselves in those districts, and the people will give little or nothing to subsist them; nay, the very Presbytery that officiate among them are in great straits."—Lawson's *Hist.*, p. 231.

[3] Bishop Macfarlane of Moray, "only able to get young men trained for the ministry by receiving them in his house as boarders. It enabled the bishop to select docile and promising young men from among the poor but worthy farmers and shopkeepers of the neighbourhood, who were always ready to dedicate one son at least to the ministry."—P. 129, Craven's *Epis. Church in Moray.*

building which no Presbyterian foot would enter.[1] They might hear as they walked along the roads the rude boys calling the vulgar rhyme after them:

> "Pisky, Pisky, Amen,
> Down on your knees and up again";

but they passed on to their "whistling kirk," and the trouble passed from them. Their doctrine was sensible if their teaching was dull; their character was genial, and they were free from the foolish political and sacerdotal fanaticism that for long spoiled the teaching and made ridiculous the pretensions of their non-juring brethren.[2]

The bishops form an interesting though dim feature in the social and religious life of these days. Little seen, little heard of in the Lowlands, where Presbytery was supreme, in the northern parts they are seen flitting in primitive apostolic fashion and penury from district to district, visiting the diminutive congregations in Ross or Moray, in the wilds of Sutherland or the bleak Orkneys. The worthy bishop, with his deacon, journeys on ponyback, wrapped in his check plaid and attired in quite unepiscopal habiliments, or travels on foot carrying a meagre wardrobe on his shoulders. Hard-working, hard-faring men, strong in the divine right of Prelacy, these simple-souled prelates in homespun maintained with a quaint dignity the honour of their office and the poverty of their lot. Their arrival, full of gossip and adventures, in Jacobite mansions far remote from city and society, was a pleasant break in the dire monotony of many a retired household, cut off by vile roads and wide straths from neighbours and by lack of post from news. Bishop Forbes, in 1767,[3] travels by boat amidst the pelting sleet across northern rivers, stumbles along the bridle-path of moorland wastes on his pony; now he breakfasts poorly in a roadside inn; now in a manse where

[1] "An organ was set up in one of the qualified meeting-houses in Edinburgh about the beginning of December (1747), and draws several persons thither out of curiosity."—*Scots Mag.*, ix. 608.

[2] "The non-juring ministers have made a kind of linsey-woolsey piece of stuff of their doctrine by interweaving the people's civil rights with religion, and teaching them that it is as unchristian not to believe their notions of government as to disbelieve the gospel."—Burt's *Letters from the North*, i. 206.

[3] *Journals of Bishop Forbes and Church in Ross*, by Craven, p. 128.

Whig minister and non-juring prelate over whisky and oat-cakes discuss sharply which of the two is schismatic, and which Church is the "Schism." Arriving at the country-houses, where he was welcomed by chief or laird, there is, after repast and rest, service in the hall or dining-room, the confirmation of young members of the family; or, mayhap, the rebaptizing of converts from the "Schism," as the Church of Scotland was called.[1] When a bishop made his appearance some elderly gentleman might be persuaded of the error of his ways, that he had not properly received in infancy the chrism, because he had been "sprinkled in the Schism," and demurely would go through the operation of rebaptism at divinely appointed hands.[2] The Church of Scotland suffered much contumely in these times from the dissenters at all hands—non-jurors denounced it as schismatic, and the Seceders renounced it as corrupt.

Jacobite lairds were not theologians, they had absorbed more claret than divinity, and they cared not very much for, and they understood still less about, all the questions of orders and divine rights of Prelacy, urged by these estimable but not imposing personages; but they were satisfied so long as it was opposed to Whiggism, and associated somehow or other with the divine right of the Stewarts. The questions which agitated the souls of their spiritual guides about the "Usages"[3] troubled them little, and soon passed away from mortal memory. Non-juring died out with the laws that provoked it, and the Episcopalian body entered on a quiet, untroubled course, losing its picturesque aspect, its quaintness, its foibles, but ministering unobtrusively to those to whom its services were congenial and its traditions were venerable.

[1] It was a usual thing for rebaptism of a Presbyterian to be required. John Skinner, who was the son of a Presbyterian schoolmaster, was rebaptized before taking orders.—Walker's *Life of Skinner*. Even so early as 1704, Robert Calder—author of *Scots Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed*—said that the Presbyterial baptism was efficacious just as was a midwife's.

[2] "I baptized," says Bishop Forbes, "Mr. Allan Currie of Lishnach, a person of riper years, who in his infancy had been sprinkled in the Schism."—*Journals of Bishop Forbes and Church in Ross.*

[3] The "Usages," once subject of grave but forgotten discussion and division, were—1. Mixing water with wine; 2. Commemorating faithful departed in communion office; 3. Consecrating elements by express invocation; 4. Using oblatory prayer before administering.

CHAPTER X

THEOLOGICAL OPINIONS AND TEACHING

I

ALTHOUGH it has been indicated elsewhere what were the characteristics of Scottish preaching, and what the dogmas taught during the early part of the century, it is impossible to form a true conception of the religion which was taught by the clergy and beloved of the people till we study the devotional and theological writings of the time. These writings consist of sermons, single or collected, by popular divines; pamphlets, tracts, catechisms for communicants, treatises on ecclesiastical controversies. Almost all that literature has passed into oblivion, save a few that are still cheaply reprinted for a class of readers one never meets. The venerable works are found in corners of old booksellers' shops without a purchaser, or rest in the highest and dustiest shelves of antiquarian libraries without a reader. They are not in stately folios or ponderous quartos, for ministers had neither time nor money for such bibliographical luxuries. They are insignificant pamphlets bound together in incongruous "collections," the printing is uncouth, the pages are brown and dingy, and seem to smell still of the reek of peat fires before which earnest readers perused them, and whose fumes have discoloured them. Though small in bulk, their titles are portentous; and most copious are the ponderous prefaces in which reverend authors re-stated their important arguments, and refuted by anticipation every opponent in this their first and last work before they relapsed into obscurity of private life.

"Communion Addresses," sermons by Moderators of Synod, "Letters," "Replies," "Testimonies"—these constitute the staple of literature in an unliterary age. In them we find dogmas long since dead; pious vituperation on antagonists long buried in dust and forgetfulness; breathless insistence on questions which time has answered with a yawn; the type swarms with italics; the style is deplorable in syntax and language; the exegesis is absurd, quaint from its humorous lack of humour. To hear these voices of old Presbyters, so remote from us in feeling, interest, and speech, is like listening to husky ghosts speaking from the far-away past.

In respect of doctrine these religious productions present few variations. The themes alter, the style varies, the dogmas are ever the same. The Fall, Original Sin, the total depravity of human nature, redemption of the elect, the woes of hell and joys of heaven, form the topics of the arguments and the subjects of their appeals. There is no hesitation in the utterance of opinions — for nothing is too reverent for their scrutiny; nothing is too mysterious for their confidence; and they explain and decide every question from the secret designs of Deity before the beginning of time to the fate of man to all eternity.

Being all bound alike by the same Confession of Faith, which was interpreted in its most rigid sense, there could be allowed no diversity of opinion in the Church, and the hint that there should be any natural virtue or light in any soul was met by a "libel" for heresy.

Once was there an alarm of dangerous error being taught and held in the Church. The writings of the French mystic, Antoinette Bourignon,[1] had a fascination for some people,

[1] Book entitled *Apology for Antoine Bourignon* condemned as containing a mass of dangerous, impious, blasphemous, and damnable errors. — *Acts of Assembly*, x. 1701. Presbyteries are recommended earnestly to use all effectual means to prevent the spreading of these and other errors, xii. 1709. Ministers ordained to preach most particularly against the said errors, and professors of divinity recommended to make full collection of the errors of Antonia Bourignan and of such other errors as reflect upon the nature, person, and offices of Jesus Christ, and to write a confutation of the same.—*Ibid.* ix. 1710. Madam Bourignon's writings were condemned—1. As denying the permission of sin and the infliction of damnation and vengeance for it. 2. Attributing to Christ a twofold human nature,—the one derived from Adam, the other from the

especially about Aberdeen; and for preaching her heresies Dr. G. Garden,[1] an Episcopal minister allowed to officiate in St. Nicholas Church, and a man of some note in the North, was deposed by the Presbytery, and his book, entitled *Apology for Antoine Bourignon*, was condemned as "a mass of dangerous and blasphemous heresies." In 1709, and again in 1710, the General Assembly recommended the Presbyteries earnestly to take all means to suppress such "soul poisoning" errors. In the alarm which these deadly opinions excited, an Act was passed that all ministers at their ordination should specially state that they abjured "Bourignianism." This quite illegal oath was enforced till a few years ago—long after the heresy and the heretic were forgotten, and each clergyman solemnly renounced those errors, though he had not the faintest idea what they were, and was ignorant, while he was abjuring some whimsical notions, he was also rejecting some doctrines of rare beauty, finer than his own creed. At the beginning of the eighteenth century they were regarded as perilously demoralising, and it was noted as a clear proof of their malignant tendency that the tutor who murdered in 1714 Bailie Gordon's sons at Edinburgh had been a schoolmaster turned out of office for holding "the damnable errors" of Antoinette Bourignon. This, however, was but a passing local epidemic of error, prevalent amongst Aberdonian Episcopalians, which disappeared never to vex the country again; and the reign of orthodoxy resumed its sway without a rebel to suppress.

We may take as a fair exponent of old Scottish theology Professor Blackwell of Aberdeen, who in various works which are long forgotten presents to the world an orthodox scheme of the Universe. Dr. Blackwell had been minister of Paisley when in 1697[2] the famous witchcraft case broke out at

Virgin Mary. 3. Denying election, and loading that act of sovereignty and grace with blasphemous aspersions, particularly cruelty and respect of persons. The asserting of the sinful nature of Christ's human nature; asserting a state of perfection in this life.—See *Apology for M. A. Bourignon with Life of Antoine Bourignon* [by G. Garden], 1699; *Light of the World*, by Antonia Bourignon [translated by Garden], London, 1696.

[1] Garden was a naturalist also of considerable ability. Another naturalist of greater fame, Swammerdam, about 1680 gave up his favourite study and embraced the unworldly life of Bourignon.—Bower's *Hist. Edin. University*, ii. 283.

[2] Lees' *Hist. of Paisley Abbey*.

Bargarran. None had been so able and energetic as he in investigating the manifestations of Satan, and in wringing confession from the unfortunate victims of delusion; therefore his "transportation" to Aberdeen was regarded as a sad loss at such a time of perplexity. In his theological works he shows himself as inquisitive and energetic in investigating still higher matters. In giving an account[1] of the origin of the Universe he writes down the "motions" and "resolutions" of the Council of Trinity like a clerk writing the minutes of a meeting of Presbytery.

He tells how the Deity did from all eternity enjoy perfect blessedness in the "contemplation of His own perfection." But the Divine Mind "presently" found that He could get "an additional revenue of glory by creating rational creatures who should sing eternal hallelujahs." "A motion was made" to this effect in the Council of Three-in-One; and "the aforesaid great motion was agreed to (Job. xxxv. 7, Rev. iv. 11),"—so states Dr. Blackwell, who attributes to the deliberations of the Trinity the procedure of the Presbytery of Aberdeen. He next describes how the "great decreed moment" arrived for "eternity to give place to a parenthesis of time;" how matter was created out of nothing; he shows how angels were created in the third heaven, "of which the firmament is the coarser side of the pavement; these angels are the rational creatures" who are created chiefly to sing "eternal hallelujahs" to delight the Trinity, and, in order that their movements through space may not be impeded, their garments are made loose. The earth was then formed with vegetables and with the beasts therein; but in time the Trinity discovered a great blank in the architecture of the world—which, it is curious, had not been foreseen. To adjust this difficulty, a Council of Three-in-One assembled, and man was created:

[1] Blackwell's *Schema Sacrum*, 1712, p. 4. In similar business manner another divine describes the eternal counsel of the glorious Trinity "when God proposeth and promiseth to the Son that upon condition He would undertake the work of the elect redemption, and pay their debt that He would redeem them all." "This great transaction being thus agreed and concluded between God the Father and His eternal Son, He is instated in His office of Mediator, etc."—*Short Catechism concerning Three Special Divine Covenants and Gospel Sermons*, by Alex. Hamilton, minister of gospel, Edin. 1714.

firstly, to declare God's perfections; to be a "covenanting party to transact with the Trinity"; to bring wild beasts to subjection "by the stateliness of his person, the majesty of his countenance, and the carefulness of his voice"; and, lastly, to prevent angels supposing all things were created for themselves, to "produce double return of declarative glory to God." According to this scheme and all of these old schemes, everything was made and designed to give glory, and honour, and praise to the Deity, while in the other world angels and men have their employment through eternity, singing praises and hallelujahs. Such everlasting pæans, it might be imagined, would be unpleasant and wearying as to the satrap of Irax, in Voltaire's story, whom the King of Babylon cured of his insatiable love of praise by causing courtiers at every meal to laud every word he spoke, while his merits were sung from morning till night, with full chorus and orchestra, and a cantata was performed in his honour with its incessant refrain—

> Que son mérite est extrême !
> Que des grâces ! que de grandeur !
> Ah combien monseigneur
> Doit être content de lui-même !

The satrap, bored to death, loathed ever after the faintest sound of praise.

In spite of all divine care, "Wonderful dispensation! the principal heads of creation," angels and men — "the one created on the first day of the week, and the other on the sixth—and both sinning and falling (for anything that is notour to us) before the second Sabbath cometh to pass." "O monstrous ingratitude!" exclaims the divine; "allowing the glorious Creator but one Sabbath to rejoyce over all His works as very good!"[1] The Fall of man was the subject of endless ingenuity to justify the ways of God to men; and it was the unfailing topic of every sermon from every pulpit. It was proved by preachers how "extremely kind" it was to make the fate of all future generations depend on Adam's conduct. "What could be more kind," it was urged, "than for the Creator to accept the obedience of one man in the room of

[1] *Schema Sacrum*, p. 167.

millions, and instead of exacting perfect obedience from each individual? What could be more fair than to make a covenant with a being formed perfect, and therefore the most likely to keep the bargain, than to require it of each and all, who would be more liable to break it? Surely if all mankind had been present in the garden of Eden, they would unanimously have agreed to such a proposal, and have chosen Adam as their representative." It is thus that Professor Blackwell makes the difficulty vanish.

Other proofs of the justice of the covenant come from other writers and preachers. No argument was more frequently used in sermons to show that the divine contract with Adam should righteously bind all his descendants, than that all his posterity were at the time present in the first father's loins, and consequently both present at the bargain and parties to it. If it were suggested that Eve, at any rate, could not be held as responsible for any engagement which Adam had made, the triumphant answer was given that the woman was not yet extracted from the man's side, and as she was a part of him "before her distinct formation" she was "a party to the great transaction." Thus was the arrangement proved to be kind, reasonable, and most just to all parties concerned.

As to the extent of the ruin wrought by Adam's disobedience, in every preacher there is but one undoubted opinion. It amounted to total corruption of the whole nature of every man, woman, and child. Though this was part of the common creed of the Church, it is expressed with characteristic vigour and remorseless plainness of speech by the ministers. It was shown that no good thought or desire could possibly enter the heart of man, "for God could not leave His glorious image to hing so near the ugly and abominable effigies of the devil."[1] All acts of religion of the unregenerate man are "mere sham and dead forms of holiness"; and if the natural man "should begin to relent, to drope a tear for sin and repent, he does nothing but sin; for man, aye, even the new-born babe, is a lump of wrath, a child of hell." "Oh, sad reckoning!" exclaims the preacher,[2] "as many thoughts, words, actions, so

[1] *Schema Sacrum*, p. 217.

[2] Boston's *Fourfold State of Man*, 1744, p. 99.

many sins. Thou canst not help thyself. What canst thou do who art wholly corrupt? Nothing but sin." Every enjoyment that came from Providence could only go to harden the sinner, "could but feed to the slaughter of the mis-improver."[1] It was considered the solemn duty of ministers to show their people that "unregenerate morality can never please God, and in this state of wrath and curse is loathed by Him."[2]

That such a creed should be taught in all its nakedness could not fail to have disastrous effects on the morals which the preachers contemned—leading some to melancholy despair, others to reckless vice, and in the "elect" to indifference as to conduct and duty.

Not merely was man's soul defaced and totally depraved according to this creed; his physical frame was also utterly marred. "The glorious beauty and comeliness of man in a state of innocence" was transformed to a "body hideous, monstrous, and vile, without its covering of cloathing." The beasts also partook of the universal blight, and became ferocious, noxious, and carnivorous; while vegetables shared the curse, and weeds, brambles, thistles, nettles, sprang up and laid barren the ground.[3] This was a doctrine which was often in the lips and minds of lazy Scots farmers, who left their crofts to grow luxuriant in weeds, pleading that they should not interfere with the divine curse on the soil for Adam's sin.

The descriptions of the consequences of this total depravity in the other world called forth the vigour and picturesqueness of all preachers. That everlasting and infinite torture was deserved by all descendants of Adam, as "guilty lumps of hell,"[4] is a fact they incessantly urge and prove. It is true that some divines winced at making dead infants share the terrible

[1] Blackwell's *Methodus Evangelica: Modest Essay upon the true Scriptural and rational Way of preaching the Gospell*, London, 1712, p. 157.

[2] *Fair and Impartial Testimony*, p. 88. William Land, minister of Crimond about the beginning of the century, was deposed for saying in a Synod sermon that virtue was more natural to the human mind than vice.—*Stat. Act. Scot.* xi. 417.

[3] Blackwell's *Methodus Evangelica.*

[4] *Meditations on the Love of Christ in Redeeming Elect Sinners, by that worthy, learned, and eminently religious Mr. Hugh Clark, sometime before his Death, which took place on 15th Feb.* 1724. Glasgow, 1777.

"all righteous doom"; for on this point their hearts were softer than their creed[1] and less consistent than their Confession. They waver; but while they bade parents "comfortably remember that there is a Judge who showed great bowels of compassion towards little children," they state that such a doom was just. "Who," asked Professor Blackwell "can refuse that the cockatrice deserveth to be destroyed in the egg?" "It is because of their original corruption," explained Mr. Boston, "as heirs of hell that they undergo the punishment of God. They were drowned in the deluge [when, as Mr. Webster says, 'the world died of dropsie'], consumed in Sodom by fire and brimstone, they have been slain with sword, dashed against stones, and still are undergoing ordinary deaths." Why is this, seeing they have committed no actual sin? It is "just as men do with toads and serpents, which they kill at first sight before they have done any hurt because of their venomous nature; so is it in this case."

Such is one of the "observes" of Boston—a most affectionate parent, but most remorseless divine—in his *Fourfold State of Man*, which when preached as sermons brought some faithful hearers forty miles to listen in the little kirk of Ettrick, and when published was the gospel of the peasantry for generations. Yet in its pages the word "wrath" occurs so often that in the edition before us the printer, in his despair at every W in all his types having been used up—italics, capitals, and roman—has been obliged to employ two Vs: thus, "VVrath."

So far from speaking of the future destiny of man and of the world unseen, with its awful mysteries, with bated breath and whispered humbleness, the ministers positively revelled in descriptions of the woes eternal. They exhaust the wild luxuriance of their imagination in depicting its horrors and preaching the terrors of the Lord to awaken the souls.

"Everything in God is perfect of its kind,"[2] urges Boston,

[1] "I do not say," writes Col. Blackadder, "that all children of believing parents will be saved. But this is too deep for me. We must not meddle with the sovereignty of God."—*Life*, p. 136; Boston's *Fourfold State*, p. 112; Gib's *Sacred Contemplations*, pp. 94, 183; Blackwell's *Schema Sacrum*, p. 163.

[2] *Fourfold State*, p. 126. Discoursing at a communion on the text "Everyone shall be salted with fire," a preacher soothingly explains "that every

"and therefore no wrath can be so perfectly fierce as His; the wonted force of the rage of lions, leopards, and she-bears deprived of their whelps, is not sufficient to give a scanty view of the power of the wrath of God." The devout fancy of the preachers, which was most lively on sacramental occasions, conjures up tremendous visions of the nether world, almost Dantesque in their weirdness and wildness. The topography of this eternal tragedy is somewhat uncertain, but it is considered generally that the scene is to be found under the earth, for on this point, as Mr. James Durham had noted,[1] the instance of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram seemed clear—"a horrible place filled with darkness and torments declaring God's justice, as befits the devil's dwelling-place—full of fire of far more vehemency than ours is, being kindled by God's wrath within and without." Let us listen to Ralph Erskine as he preaches to his congregation in Dunfermline in 1727:[2]—

"What must it be to be banished from the Almighty God? But whither must they go? Into everlasting fire. O what a bed is there! no feathers, but fire; no friends, but furies; no ease, but fetters; no daylight, but darkness; no clock to pass away the time, but endless eternity; fire eternal is always burning and never dying away. O who can endure everlasting flame? It shall not be quenched night or day. The smoke thereof shall go up for ever and ever. The wicked shall be crowded like bricks in a fiery furnace. Good Lord, what a world of miseries hath seized on miserable sinners! Their executioners are devils; the dungeon fills; the earth stands open; the furnace is burning to receive you. O, how will these poor souls quake and tremble! Every part of their body will bear a part in their woeful ditty: eyes weeping, hands wringing, breasts beating, heads aching with voices crying." [Thereupon follows the awful sentence on the non-elect wretches.] "The Judge is risen from his glorious seat.

one of the damned race of Adam shall get the wrath of God to harden their souls and bodys to be able to abide the flames of the pit and not to be consumed, still to be broiling; they will be salted with damnation."—Rev. Jas. Webster's *Sacramental Sermons*, p. 111. Jas. Webster was father of the more famous and genial Calvinist, Dr. Alex. Webster.

[1] Durham's *Commentary on Revelation*, 1680, p. 477.

[2] R. Erskine's *Christ's Coming in Clouds to Judgment.*

The saints guard Him along, and the sentenced prisoners are delivered to the jailers. Shrieks of horror shall be heard. What woes and lamentations shall be uttered when devils and reprobate and all the damned crew of hell shall be driven into hell never to return. Down they go! howling, shrieking, and gnashing their teeth. . . . What wailing, weeping, roaring, yelling, filling both heaven and earth. O miserable wretches!"

Few could equal, none could surpass, in eldrich fantasy and gruesome rhetoric the minister of Dunfermline; but there were some who were hardly inferior in blood-curdling detail. They almost gloat over the *Dies Iræ*. One tells how "the lost shall have no other associates but grim and grisly devils, while the redeemed shall triumph in the presence of God and His angels"; how "these miserable creatures must howl and roar in everlasting despair, while others sing the song of Moses and the Lamb; then there shall be the roaring, and screeching, and yelling of devils in such hideous manner that thou wilt be ready to run stark mad again for anguish and torment." The occupation of the doomed consists in enduring and watching untold agony, for they shall have no ease, "no, not even so long as a man may turn himself about." "They will be filled with hatred, fury, and rage against themselves and their fellow-creatures; they will be filled with horror, continually darted with despair, which will make them weep and gnash their teeth, and blaspheme for ever. . . . Nothing is to be heard there but howling, cursing, gnashing for ever and ever, and the damned in their despair would even bite God if they could reach Him."[1]

Every sense will be tormented, and none can tell which is tormented most. "Whether think you,"[2] asked the loved divine

[1] *Dying Thoughts in Three Parts*, by the late Rev. W. Crawfurd of Wilton (*circa* 1730), fifth edition, Paisley, 1769; Sermon 29 in *David's Testimony opened, in* 40 *sermons upon* 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 5, by that eminent servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Alex. Wedderburn of Kilmarnock, Glasgow, 1721, greatly read in the eighteenth century. Mr. Spalding contrasts two visions: "What if you did but see hell open and all the damned there in their easeless torments, screiching and yelling and blaspheming and gnashing their teeth . . . or if you could see heaven open and see the saints walking in their white robes and crowns on their heads, and palms in their hands."—Syntax's *Sacra*.

[2] Andrew Gray's *Great and Faithful Promises*. Glasgow, 1746. Though Gray belongs to an earlier period than that we describe (died in 1656), his sermons

of the "advanced Christians," "the sense of sight, when you shall behold the darkness of death, the devil, his angels, and your fellow-prisoners in the dungeon? or whether shall your sense of hearing be most tormented, when you hear the screeching and howling that eternally ascend to God? or whether will ye the sense of tasting be most tormented when ye shall drink of the rivers of brimstone? or will ye the sense of smelling, when ye shall be eternally suffocated with the smoke of the sulphurous furnace that shall not be quenched? The worms that never die shall feed on their bodies." [1] In this state of perdition what woeful curse is the horrible company surrounding the lost! "To be closed up in a den of roaring lions, girded about with serpents, surrounded with venomous asps, to have the bowels eaten out by vipers, all together and at once, is a comparison too low to show the misery of the damned, shut up in prison with the devil and his angels." [2] In that state of woe the miseries of the reprobate, it was taught, awaken no compassion in God, angels, or saints. "God shall not pity them, but laugh at their calamity. The righteous company in heaven shall rejoice in the execution of God's judgment, and shall sing while the smoke riseth up for ever. Natural affection shall be extinguished; parents will not love their children,

were reprinted in whole or part so often, and read and praised so much during the eighteenth century, that they may be quoted as expressing the popular belief and taste of the people and the evangelical clergy. Between 1715 and 1770 many editions were issued in Glasgow. Some manuscript sermons were published by Rev. John Willison of Dundee in 1746, and yet more appeared in 1765.

[1] Here is a popular metrical version of this doctrine :—

> Hot burning coals of juniper shall be
> Thy bed in doom, and there to cover thee
> A quilt of boyling brimstone thou must take
> And wrap thee in, till you full payment make.
>
> Thy head, thy ears, thy nose, thy eye,
> Ye every member shall tormented be
> Apart, and such exquisite tortures fill
> Each joint as would great Liavathan kill.
>
> [J. Donaldson's] *Toothpick for Swearers*, Edin. 1697.

[2] *Fourfold State*, p. 442. "The godly husband shall say Amen to the damnation of her who lay on his bosom; the godly parents shall say Hallelujah at the passing of the sentence against their only child; the godly child shall approve the damnation of his wicked parents—the father who begat him and the mother who bore him."—P. 436. See also Rev. R. Russel's *Future State of Man*, p. 21.

nor children their parents; the mother will not pity the daughter in the flames, nor the daughter the mother." Such hideous teaching offended no religious susceptibility, awakened no incredulity, caused no revulsion in the much-believing and much-fearing people.

Every simile, every illustration, every parable, was used to make the hearers realise more vividly the terrors of the judgment to come, for it was to fear the ministers chiefly trusted to bring sinners to repentance. It is after giving a ghastly picture of the torments of the lost that a preacher finds that his own skill and power are unequal to the thrilling task, and in sheer exhaustion[1] he exclaims, "Oh, my friends, I have given you but a very short touch of the torments of hell. It was an excellent comparison which I have heard from a godly and learned divine speaking of the everlasting torments. If, saith he, a barn or some other great place should be filled up top-full of grains of wheat, and a bird should come every thousand years and fetch away a corn, there might be an end of all, the barn might be emptied; but the torments of hell have no end. Ten thousand times ten millions of dayes doth not at all shorten the miseries of the damned."[2] But, as Mr. Adam Petrie well remarked when metrically depicting the horrors of hell, "The torments there are too prolix to tell."

II

Sufficient samples have been given of the prevalent and popular style of teaching on this tremendous theme, though

[1] *Heaven's Glory and Earth's Torment; or, the Parable of Dives and Lazarus opened and applied.* Glasgow, 1713.

[2] This Calvinist illustration finds a parallel in the Buddhist illustration of the vastness of eternity. A Buddhist bonze said, "You know that no substance can touch each other without attrition. Now imagine a huge granite rock. It shall be visited once in a kalpa (10,000 years) by an angel with a muslin garment, the edge of that garment shall touch the rock as he passes. Well, when the whole of that rock shall be removed by the rubbing of that garment you will have arrived at the beginning of eternity." Another said, "My notions are these, every sand in the sea shall be gathered together in one hugh mass, a divine messenger shall be sent at the end of every kalpa to carry away a single grain of sand. When not one is left, and you can count the number of cycles that shall have passed, I will give you my notion of eternity."—Bowring's "Recollections of Siam," *Fortnightly Review*, 1865.

other instances could be given *ad nauseam*, recalling the weird representations of Dante and the hideous scenes of Orcagna. They come from men the most acceptable, the most "followed" by the people, the most potent with the masses. The fact that their own writings and those of divines of an earlier and, if possible, gloomier period were reprinted time after time, and published by booksellers in cheap forms, to be eagerly read by thousands up to the end of the century, serves to show how popular and how credited these hideous doctrines were. The wonder is, not that the "Cambuslang Wark" of 1740 began under teaching so terrifying, but that it ever ended.[1] Not nearly so coarse and brutal as these were the representations of a judgment and partiality to the elect given by the Calvinistic George Whitfield, and yet his brother Methodist, the Arminian John Wesley, could say to him "Your God is my devil."

If we turn from the popular conceptions of hell to those of paradise we meet with disappointment. Here the powerful imaginations of divines fail them, and fancies which conjure up vivid pictures of the tortures of hell are vague and inept regarding the felicities of heaven. Usually the joys and occupations of the redeemed are described as consisting in ceaseless praise to the Deity, never ending, still beginning. As Mr. Adam Gib the Anti-burgher says, the principal employment of the saved will be "everlasting praise to the Three-in-One; they will be employed in an eternal review of the Lord's doings with them, each will tell the other what the Lord hath done for his soul, and will be ever telling it to God in holy rapture."[2] Although this may seem rather monotonous to all concerned, people are told, "There never will be any weariness, they will ever be fresh, and it will ever be new to them."

One of the most common, if least alluring, assurances of celestial happiness was that it would be an endless Sabbath, an everlasting prolongation of a Scottish Sabbath, when the praise, worship, and meditations should be eternal, ceasing not night nor day. It was, therefore, a serious and searching question put to congregations, if they found Sabbath here a

[1] Robe's *Faithful Narrative.*

[2] Gib's *Sacred Contemplations*, p. 316.

burden how could they enjoy it for ever in heaven?[1] As a work of imagination, however, the depiction of the New Jerusalem is a failure, which is not surprising, for blessedness is far less easy to paint than misery, as one sees on comparing Dante's *Paradiso* with his *Inferno*.

Strangely literal notions were entertained regarding the resurrection of the body. According to many ministers of these days every particle of each body will be recovered or restored to its owner, because God knows where each atom is, in sea or earth or air. "Particularly,"[2] as Boston says, "He knows where to find the primitive substance of the man-eater, however evaporated, or reduced as it were into air or vapour by sweat or perspiration, and how to separate the parts of the body that are eaten from the body of the eater." So certain and clear was the belief in an identical resurrection of the corpse, that Boston, when he writes his *Memoirs*, gravely records how, whenever he drops a tooth,[3] he tenderly preserves it, and how he has arranged that the decayed teeth may be buried in the coffin with him, evidently that they might share in the resurrection, either for glory above, or for pain below—where there will be "gnashing of teeth." The opinion was strongly held that while the bodies of the wicked will be loathsome and hideous, the saintly frames will be handsome and beautiful.[4] With approval a minister states that "a grave divine had said they shall be stronger at the resurrection than a hundred, yea, than thousands now, seeing they shall bear up an exceeding weight of glory." These grave divines were strangely devoid of any touch of humour. What seemed a quite conclusive proof that every least

[1] Willison's *Sanctification of the Sabbath*, 1746. "There is one thing which should incite me to an eminent concern to sanctify the Sabbath, viz., I can never expect to celebrate the eternal Sabbath above, if the Christian here below is not my delight; since what will be the exercises of the one will be the exercises of the other."—*Diary of George Brown*, 1745-1753, p. 219.

[2] *Fourfold State*, p. 340.

[3] *Memoirs*.

[4] *Future State of Man: a Sermon on the Resurrection*, by R. Russel. Glasgow, 1716.—"We must all appear there in the stature and fulness of Christ; that is, of the middle stature, or that stature Adam was created in. The oldest will appear no older. The youngest no younger."—P. 10. Russel's works met with great acceptance in Scotland—many editions issuing to suit the "gospel" tastes.

part of the body shall reappear was the fact that the whole body was engaged in the everlasting covenant by man with God. "If, therefore," said the author of *David's Testimony opened, in Forty Sermons*,[1] "worms destroy the body, and the birds fly away with a bit of my body that is left above the ground, the covenant being made with that bit, it's the Father's pleasure that I should lose nothing, that I should not lose the nail of my toe, for the covenant remains with my dust."

No doctrine was more prominent in those days than that of Election, that God had chosen some out of the myriads of the lost to be saved for His own pleasure, and to redound to His own glory. This dogma in itself is no peculiarity of the Scottish Kirk, being a doctrine common to all Calvinistic Churches. There were, however, ways in which this dogma was presented to the people characteristic of the ministers and peculiar to their type. Even the elect could only escape their righteous doom of endless torments by a sacrifice being made to God, by sufferings equalling in intensity those which the saved would otherwise have endured. This transcendent or infinite vicarious agony could only be borne by One who was at once God and man; for the very least sin being committed against an infinite God is therefore infinite in its guilt, and deserves punishment infinite in its extent.[2] Accordingly, the Son bore infinite pain from the "vindictive anger of God, pure wrath, nothing but wrath, the Father loved to see Him die." As a divine[3] forcibly put the case, "The Father gathered all the hells that all the elect would have suffered from all eternity, put them in vials wide as heaven and full of wrath, prest down and running over, put them in the Mediator's hand, while God squeezed out the gall and wormwood, and would not let Him stop till every drop was drunk off." While the larger party of the Church held that Christ endured only the torment equal to that which would have been borne by the elect, others, including the "Marrow-men," Boston, and the Erskines, held that Jesus died for all

[1] P. 234. [2] Gib's *Sacred Contemplations*, p. 276.

[3] "All the divines conclude that He suffered the pains of hell."—Webster's *Sacramental Sermons*, p. 145.

(although only the elect could be saved), and therefore must have borne the agony and woe and wrath equal to that which humanity past, present, and to come deserve to bear. In the preaching of that age, while many were moved to faith by the terror of God, many were also touched by the ineffable grace of Christ; "affectionate preachers" turned their hearers to love and gratitude to One who bore so much for sinners, and appeals, tender, winsome, and often beautiful, came to make people, with tears in their eyes and affection in their hearts, move to a higher life. But the Father was ever inexorably just, to be feared: Christ alone was infinitely merciful, to be loved.

In this grim theology the atonement is robbed of all its finer moral and religious meaning; there is nothing to touch the spiritual nature, nothing to awaken reverence. It is treated as a legal transaction, in which God, Christ, and men are the several "parties" to a bond. The whole Calvinistic process by which Adam, as the representative of the human race, involved it in ruin, sin, corruption, and curse, and Christ, as representative of the elect, in their stead suffered and appeased God's wrath, is detailed in dry technical terms and in legal phrases of the Court of Session. Christ in the preachers' sermons is called the "Tryst"; He became "surety" for the elect, having "stroke hands with God" to take man's person and place;[1] He takes their "law place." More precisely had Mr. Alexander Wedderburn informed his hearers how Christ "drew up the bonds" of the covenant:[2] "The father knew that He had to deal with fools that could not see, or had no skill of their own writ-drawing, and the Son had liberty to draw up the articles of the covenant," and became "cautioner at once for man and the Father." "It was well observed by one," remarked this Mr. Wedderburn, "that God had to do with a party that had three defects when he made the covenant. First, that they were dyvours [bankrupts], and therefore behoved to have a cautioner [guarantee]; secondly, that they were witless, and had no skill to draw up their own writs, and therefore left it to the

[1] *Marrow of Divinity*, chap. ii.—"From everlasting Christ stroke hands with God to put upon Him man's person."

[2] *David's Testimony, etc.*, pp. 9, 10.

Son to draw; thirdly, that they were unbelievers and could not take Him at His word. . . . Therefore He wrote the covenant in the blood of His Son." [1]

Nothing could be more rude than such a tone; nothing more repulsive than such coarse juggling with words. It shows the stamp of men who reduced the redemption to a mercantile transaction and vulgar bargain, who likened the Deity to a sharp, suspicious, legal practitioner, and associated the ineffable sacrifice on the Cross with the proceedings of a sheriff's court.[2] In the hands of these ministers all the mystery, all the awe, all the beauty of religion totally vanish, and in our ears there rings a jangle of Edinburgh lawyer's phrases in broad Scots—"cautioner," "dyvours," "sureties," "writs," "articles," "bonds," and "law-rights."

While the presence of God was most vividly realised in those fervid times, still more intensely vivid was the consciousness of a very present devil. It is he who sends evil spirits and demons to infest men's minds and to possess their bodies.[3] It is he who thwarts God's plans, sends sinful thoughts to saintly minds and doubts to the believer, who plagues with disease and ravages with storm; who seizes epileptics and makes witches do his wicked will. With such a conception of the constant agency of Satan, it is not surprising that people called in his emissaries, the witches and warlocks, to curse an enemy or to fulfil their wish; by charms and incantations to with-

[1] Having suffered hell's torments, Christ "can save those who are lying in blood, choked by their own gore, lying in the devil's arms, and give His love to vile worms, polluted vipers, and enslaved wretches."—Webster's *Sacramental Sermons*, p. 107.

[2] "There were two contracting parties in the covenant of grace: the first and second persons in the Trinity; the third person, the Holy Ghost, was a concurring party in making of this covenant, a peculiar office was assigned to Him, and most willingly adopted by Him. He was to be employed in the revelation of it and the application of it to the souls of men."—A. Gib's *Sacred Contemplation; Short Catechism concerning the Three Special Divine Commandments and Two Gospel Sermons*, by A. Hamilton, minister at Alith, Edin., 1714. "God the Father proposeth to God the Son to undertake man's redemption. This great transaction being agreed to and concluded betwixt God the Father and God the Son, etc."—P. 30.

[3] "Great numbers of wicked spirits which are allowed to traverse the earth and do incessantly plot the ruin of man."—*Sermons by Rev. James Craig*, edited by John Wilson, D.D., Professor of Divinity. Edinburgh, 1733.

draw mildew from their crops, or fever from their child. With perfect conviction of the power of the enemy to harass and torment, ministers pronounced the greater excommunication on flagrant offenders, "delivering them over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh," till in penitence they returned to God. Witches and charmers were therefore often employed to invoke Satan to work cures that God seemed to refuse, just as the Jews of old turned to the lords of other nations when their own Jehovah failed them. But it was the teaching of ministers who ascribed such an enormous power to the prince of darkness that led people to call him to their aid in an emergency.

To gain assurance of salvation, and to gain confidence that they were of the number of the elect, the preachers told believers to accept Christ as their "surety," and to believe that He "had paid their debt to God."[1] People were therefore urged affectionately, weepingly, to get confidence that "Christ was theirs," "to get a grip of Him," "to close with His offer." Such emotional teaching is the prominent feature of the sermons of the first half of the century, while to preach the duties of common life, as making man pleasing to God, was charged as a crime against the "moral" or "legal" preachers of the day; for, as Ralph Erskine said crisply in his much loved *Gospel Sonnets*, "the legal path is the cleanest road to hell." To assert that a person could be saved by duties was a doctrine which was "horrid blasphemy and the result of damnable ignorance." It was conceded that "morality was a desirable thing in its proper place; but soul ruining when allowed to possess the place of Christ's imputed righteousness," for "teaching men to depend on their own merits could only lead to eternal perdition.[2]

[1] R. Erskine's *Faith and Practice*, p. 60; *Mystery of Faith*, by Andrew Gray, p. 92, Glasgow, 1721; R. Erskine's *Gospel Sonnets*.

[2] *The Tryst: a Sermon preached at Synod of Merse and Teviotdale*, October 1721, by Gabriel Wilson, minister at Maxton, p. 39, Glasgow, 1736; *Fair and Impartial Testimony in name of a number of Ministers, Elders, and Christian People of Church of Scotland, against Backslidings*, etc., Edinburgh, 1744. The sturdy seceder, Adam Gib, continuing this teaching to another generation, protests that "the immediate preaching of moral duties is quite vain. Gospel hearers should be called to the performance of duties only in the way of betaking themselves to Christ by faith. It is calling them to what is absolutely impracticable and leading to eternal perdition."—*Sacred Contemplations*, p. 354.

Such was the doctrine loved and welcomed by the Scots peasantry above all; every preacher who would curry favour with them ran down morality and cried up faith; and people enjoyed the prospect of being carried duty-free to heaven. The ministers who were most active in the Cambuslang and Kilsyth revivals deplored the appearance in the pulpit of those "who have betaken themselves to the pressing of duties, and have dropt Christ and all but the name of the gospel." Yea, "licentiousness of life and all manner of abomination had grown with it," lamented Mr. Macculloch,[1] who was then glorying in the great "Wark" at Cambuslang.

A very different view, however, of the essentials of Christian doctrine was taken by intelligent, impartial laymen, whose complaint was that ministers denounced only two sins —Sabbath-breaking and uncleanness. Captain Burt, busy in the Highlands engineering General Wade's plans, saw much and observed much of Scots ways, and in 1736 he protested[2] "that ministers should speak more civilly of morality; for to tell people that they may go to hell with all their morality at their back tends to diminish the fear of sin." Kirk-Session records, and frequent fasts by General Assemblies and Presbyteries, because of "abounding sins" and "Satan's raging and prevailing," fully confirm this shrewd surmise.

Really it is difficult to make out what the gospel teachers would have a man do to secure salvation, seeing that logically and theologically the non-elect can do nothing, and the elect need do nothing. We find only familiar but vague phrases in every sermon, repeated by every pious person, from the saintly child of eight to the "advanced Christian" of eighty—"to close with Christ," "to get a grip of Him," "to have an interest in Him," "to embrace Him," "to be espoused to Him." But all this was a matter of spiritual emotion.

[1] *Glasgow Weekly Gospel History*, No. 30; 1742.

[2] *Letters from the North*, i. 173. "The more sedate of the party became disgusted by the tendency of great professors to mistake sanctimoniousness for sanctity, and men who though of immoral life are satisfied with the views of free grace and call frightful views sin as partaking of a 'legal spirit,' and plead the example of David's fall and penitence in extenuation of their own."—*Col. Blackadder's Life*, p. 52. See *Diary of Senator of College of Justice* [Lord Grange] for revelations of alternate piety and lewdness.

One day the Christian is full of certainty of having an "interest in Christ"; the next day his mood or spirits have changed with his health, and he is perhaps in doleful doubt. Believers in those days were always feeling their spiritual pulse, or, as a pious merchant expressed it, "searching if there are any spiritual gray hairs upon them." Now carnal thoughts come from Satan, now holy emotions come from the Spirit, and they are alternately in joy or in "damps," assured or doubting of their salvation.

It is just to those ministers to say that with praiseworthy inconsistency they often did insist with their hearers that to enter heaven they must show holiness of life. They appealed with fervour and deep feeling in their "affectionate" pleading to move the people to love and gratitude to the Lord, who had rescued them from woes unutterable—and often with most powerful effect. As a rule, however, attention in the pews flagged when duties were hinted at in the pulpit.

In 1720 the Church and people of Scotland were deeply excited by the publication and prosecution of a work called the *Marrow of Divinity*. It was written by E. Fisher, and had been published so long before in England as 1646, when it was printed with the approval of the censor of the press for the Westminister divines. Mr. Thomas Boston [1] had found a copy of the book in a cottage, and was charmed with it as full of gospel truth, and equally charmed were some of his brethren. A circumstance occurred which urged them to reissue it. In 1717 the Presbytery of Auchterarder had refused to license a student until he stated: "I believe that it is not orthodox to say that we must forsake our sins in order to come to Christ." This proceeding was condemned by the General Assembly as unwarranted, and this doctrine they condemned as unsound, much to the dismay of the godly, whose favourite doctrine it was. In support of what was called the "Auchterarder Creed" it was resolved to republish the *Marrow of Divinity*, edited and annotated by Mr. Boston and his friend Mr. Hog. But here the Calvinistic doctrine was taught too nakedly, too plainly in form and conclusions, to please the moderate Evangelical school, far less the "legalists"; and in 1720 the

[1] Boston's *Memoirs*.

General Assemby forbade the book to be used, and condemned the doctrine as unsound and dangerous.[1] Immense was the sensation caused by this decision, for the *Marrow of Divinity* —whose teaching, "Marrow-men" asserted, the Assembly had misunderstood—expressed the sentiments of the most venerable, loved, and "followed" ministers. Indignation was felt that it was the very ministers esteemed the most saintly and orthodox in the Church who were pronounced erroneous and dangerous. The question split both clergy and people into parties, who exchanged the taunting nicknames of "anti-nomians" and "neo-nomians." The controversy over this long-forgotten manual shows that a reaction had set in, against a form of teaching relaxing in its moral effects, among even the evangelical party; while there has always been a class of cultured clergy to whom the style of doctrine was repugnant.[2]

III

In tracing the distinctive teaching of popular ministers we might stop at the middle of the century; for the old vulgar strain became less and less common, and far less prominence was given to harsh dogmas so long favourites with people and teachers. But the creed remained the same. With the

[1] The Assembly condemned the book because it taught—1, that assurance of faith is necessary to salvation; 2, the doctrine of universal atonement; 3, that holiness was not necessary to salvation; 4, that punishment and hope of reward are not motives of a believer; 5, that the believer is not under the law as a rule of life. The "Marrow-men" complained that these errors were not taught in the book; but the language was certainly dangerous to morals, however excellent the intention, when the author wrote, "No, assure yourself that your God in Christ will never un-son you, nor yet as touching your eternal salvation will He love you even a whit the less *though you commit never so many* and great sins; for this is certain, that as no good in you did move Him to justify you and give you eternal life, so no evil in you can move Him to take it away being once given."—Chap. iii., *Marrow of Divinity.*

[2] One may be led to respect the "Marrow-men" for saying that the fears of hell and hope of heaven is a slavish and false motive of obedience for the believer. But their reason for saying this was that the elect "believer" had no need of these motives, as he could not fail to enter heaven; but at the same time they held it their duty to frighten sinners by the terrors of hell to avoid the wrath to come—which surely was useless if they were not elect.—*Marrow of Divinity*, chap. iii. 11.

exception of Professor Simson of Glasgow, there was no heretic —if indeed he were a heretic; and however the high-flyers might denounce the acquittal of Professor Campbell of St. Andrews and Principal Leechman of Glasgow as condoning heresy, they were really men trying to support the orthodox cause.[1] As for a later generation men of wide culture—like Blair, Carlyle Robertson, and Reid—left theology utterly alone.

In truth, the standards of the Church—so minute, so comprehensive, so rigid—gave little scope for private judgment or public speech, and when a man was licensed to preach he was practically deprived of his license to think. In consequence of this the Scottish Church, in spite of its ability, culture, and energy, which sought outlet in secular channels—has contributed nothing of mark or abiding value to theology, or the development of religious thought, and has done less for criticism, research, and speculation than any other Protestant Church.[2] In 1773 Dr. Johnson, seated at Lord Auchinleck's board, challenged his lordship to point out any theological book of merit by a Presbyterian divine. The old judge, Whig and Presbyterian, in his perplexity, replied, "Pray, sir, have you read Mr. Durham's excellent Commentary on Galatians" (Mr. Durham had been dead over a hundred years). "No, sir," said Dr. Johnson, and the topic dropped; for the guest had never heard of the book, and his host, who had seen the name in a catalogue, had never read it.

As the century advanced a new and finer religious feeling sprung up among the better type of Evangelical clergy, and

[1] Campbell's supposed heresies on which the Assembly acquitted him were —1, man's inability to find out the being of God by his natural powers; 2, that the law of nature was sufficient to guide natural minds to happiness; 3, that self-love was the sole principle and motive of all virtuous and religious actions; 4, that disciples during Christ's life only expected and hoped for a temporal kingdom, and that between His death and resurrection they concluded Him to be a cheat and imposter, and before His resurrection had no notion of His divinity.—*Report of Committee of Purity of Doctrine at Edinburgh*, March 1736, with Professor Campbell's remarks upon it, Edinburgh, 1736; *Account of Life of Leechman*, by Rev. J. Wodrow, prefixed to *Sermons by William Leechman, D.D.*, 2 vols. 1789.

[2] The *Dissertations* and *Ecclesiastical Lectures* of Professor George Campbell of Aberdeen and MacKnight's *Commentaries on the Gospel* were not then published, to redeem the Scots Church from theological sterility.

though the dogmas were in reality as hard and grim as ever, they were either kept in the background or presented in a softer light. Closer contact of the new generation of ministers with society, growing taste for literature and philosophy, wrought a great and wholesome change. Not, however, before a reaction had set in among the educated laity against the fanatical spirit and teaching. The crudest opinions of the old school had been willingly left as a legacy to the Seceders, and the harsh tones of a bygone generation changed to milder strains. The successors to the "antediluvians" in the pulpit were able to act in accordance with Macbeth's order: "To deliver their message like a man o' this world." The style, homespun as their clothing, the vulgar colloquial phraseology [1] of the older race, was seldom heard; the gruesome pictures of hell were in the Lowlands rarely presented to terrify hearers to piety, and doctrines which formerly set forth the Deity as despotic, arbitrary, and vengeful—even though they might be logically true to their creed—were placed in an aspect more in harmony with humanity and not less true to divinity. Between the ghastly oratory which often fell from the fervid Ralph Erskine and the mild Evangelical strain of the benign Dr. John Erskine there was a great gulf fixed.

Among the revolutionising influences in Scottish religion, it is a favourite theme with many to include the poems of Robert Burns.[2] The poet, with his rich sense of humour, would be surprised at future generations regarding him in the part of a

[1] Explaining the method of redemption, which he likens to an espousal between man and Christ, Ebenezer Erskine thus spoke: "They contract: all parties are pleased with the match. The Father of the bridegroom is pleased, for the first notion of the bargain is made by Him. He first proposed the match in the Council of Grace. 'O my Son, wilt Thou match with yon company of Adam's family, and buy them off from the hand of justice, and betroth them unto Thee for ever?'"—*Sermon on Wise Virgins.* In following manner, Mr. James Webster related a private conversation in the courts of Heaven: "I will, says God, 'have My glory retrieved again. I *will* have as much glory by Christ's death as ever I had dishonour by sin.' 'Well, Father,' said the Son, 'Thou shalt have it. I will give up the ghost!'"—P. 158, *Sacramental Sermons.* These good men were terribly at ease in Zion.

[2] "One beneficent result that has accrued specially to many of Burns's own countrymen from Burns's exuberant vitality was deliverance from the nightmare of Calvinistic puritanism. . . . With Burns came the glimmerings of dawn." —P. 430, Henderson's *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, 1899.

theological reformer. He denounced the gloom and harshness of Calvinism in his most vigorous verses; but he did so at a period when that creed was already softened on the lips of ordinary Evangelicals, ignored by the Moderates, discarded by society, and unfelt by the people. It is possible to exaggerate the poet's influence as a deliverer from morbid puritanism. After all, the lines he devoted to the Calvinistic creed and teaching were but a few verses which could effect no revolution, and his most brilliant and forcible verses were personal satires—"priest skelpin' turns," as he calls them —on some high-flying ministers in Ayrshire, who were only survivals in culture. Morose Calvinism in the pulpit and tyrannical discipline in the Session were quickly vanishing —save to his own bitter experience in Mauchline under Daddy Auld—and the applause he won alike from clergy and laity was due to his splendid ridicule of men who tried to continue in a hideous form an extreme teaching which in the Lowlands at least was passing away. The poems which issued from the Kilmarnock press in 1786 gave but brilliant protest for a freedom from pietistic tyranny which society in town and country was already enjoying.

The Moderates, who had become the predominant party in the Church when Burns wrote, left dogmas alone and preached the plain duties of daily life. Charged as some were of being Socinians and Deists because they preferred humanity to divinity, they might fairly have said that such heresies were far preferable to the old orthodoxy.[1] The differences in religious tone and expression between 1700 and 1800 are striking from every point of view; while, if we compare the beginning of the eighteenth with the end of the nineteenth century, we can observe that the Church of Scotland, though under the same creed—which does not to the reader seem very commodious—has followed two utterly different religions and worshipped two opposite gods.

[1] It was common to put the accusation in a cautious form: "They were *all but* Socinians." This is the charge against ministers of Ayr, who gave up Shorter Catechism and adopted that of Taylor of Norwich.—Struthers' *Relief Church*, p. 359.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND—SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS

I

THE educational position of Scotland has been eminently high; its system of parochial instruction has been the admiration of all countries; and the liberal amount of encouragement given to it by so poor a country has been held up as an ideal to others. As we turn to the eighteenth century, however, we meet with some reasons for modifying our enthusiasm, and for wondering rather at the scarcity of schools, the poverty of schoolmasters, the lack of education on the part of the poor, and the indifference to it on the part of the rich. At the beginning of the period we find immense districts in the Lowlands without any efficient means of education, and wide tracts with no means of education at all. We find enormous ranges in the northern counties with neither school nor teacher, where few were able to read or write till far on in the century; where the efforts of the Church and the enactments of the law were alike fruitless to secure provision for the instruction of the people. The Church of the Reformation had framed noble plans, had urged splendid provisions, and had made admirable exertions—for it regarded education as a means to religious instruction of the people. But the scheme remained somewhat of an ideal like the Mosaic legislation in the wilderness—a scheme of perfection to be thwarted by the deep poverty of the country, by the turbulence of parties, by the civil and religious warfare of generations.

If we could trust the striking statement of one contem-

porary writer, the educational condition of the middle of the seventeenth century must have been far superior to that existing even at the end of the eighteenth. This witness, Rev. James Kirkton, was, however, a loyal glorifier of the pre-prelatic age, as a period of paradisaical piety—an era, as he floridly says, "when Scotland was a heap of wheat set about with lilies, or a palace of silver beautifully proportioned." At that time, he records, "every village had a school, and every child of age could read the Scriptures,"—attainments which were lost in the dark reign of Prelacy.[1] Now, this statement would have carried more conviction to posterity if it had not been followed by further assertion, that he had lived many years in a parish where "not an oath was to be heard,"—an assertion hard to be believed by any reader of the Kirk records of that period, which simply crawl with denunciations and penalties on those who were addicted to what were the prevailing sins of "abusive language," "profane and common swearing"—all which conclusively show that Master James Kirkton, if not wilfully unveracious, had a singularly delusive memory of that most objurgative age. His idyllic description of the educational condition of the time is equally a fond and too partial imagination.

In 1633 Parliament passed an Act — notoriously ineffective—to remedy the deplorable ignorance of the people, to which the Commissioners' Report on the State of Parishes in 1627 had borne striking evidence, testifying that most of the reported parishes[2] were without a school, a schoolmaster, or any means of maintaining one. According to these returns of eight parishes in Berwickshire, with about 2500 communicants, not one has a school—though the Commissioners

[1] "At the tyme of the King's return every paroch hade a minister, every village hade a school, every family almost hade a Bible; yea, in most of the country all the children of age could read the Scriptures. . . . I have lived many years in a paroche [Melrose] where I never heard ane oath, and ye might have ridde many a mile before ye heard any. Also you could not for a great part of the country had lodged in a family where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and publick prayer."—P. 64, Kirkton's *History*, edited by C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

[2] *Report of Parishes in* 1627, Maitland Club: Bunckle, 500 communicants; Coldstream, 800; Langton, 456; Longformacus, 80; Mordington, 100; St. Bathans, 140; Swinton, 350; Channell Kirk.

urge that "a schoole is great neede," "most necessar by a multitude of poor common people;" and of Mordington it said "none can wryt or reid except the minister." In Mid-Lothian, out of the parishes reported on, seven, containing 2300 communicants above sixteen years of age, were destitute of means of education.[1] These cases bring out more accurately than the so-called "History" of the partisan Kirkton the real state of affairs in the South in the middle of the seventeenth century; while equal contemporary evidence exists to prove that farther North far greater ignorance or educational destitution prevailed.

It was in vain that Parliament in 1633, and again in 1643, enacted that the heritors should "stent" (that is, assess) themselves to maintain a school in every parish, giving power, in the event of the Act being neglected, to Presbyteries to nominate "twelve honest men" to carry out the law. It was all very well to appoint "twelve honest men" to look after the heritors; but who was to look after the "twelve honest men"? Whether they were lairds, lords, or farmers, they belonged to the very class that strenuously objected to be "stented," and the tenants left the law alone in deference to the landlords, and the landlords left it alone in deference to themselves. Parish after parish during the latter half of the seventeenth century, accordingly, marks down with the uniform lamentation in its records that it is without a schoolmaster, "there being no maintenance." We are driven, then, to believe of the Covenanting period — the heyday of religious life in Scotland—that, however much information the peasantry may have derived from the preaching and catechetical training of the ministers,[2]—Presbyterian or Episcopalian,—a large proportion of those who were most dogmatic on dogmas, and assertive on every thorny point of ecclesiastical controversy,

[1] In Mid-Lothian, in 1627, without a school were Cockpen with 400 communicants; Cranston, with 450; Currie, 800; Fala, 160; Heriot, 140; Kirkton, 200 ("school being dissolvit for want of maintenance"), Newton, 160. In East Lothian even those which had a school had no fixed maintenance; some "supported by the labourers of the ground."—*Report of Parishes.*

[2] Dalmellington Kirk-Session records contain Solemn League and Covenant to which are attached 222 signatures; but of these 179 are subscribed by proxy, because it is stated they "could not wryt themselfes."—Paterson's *Wigtonshire and Ayrshire*, i. 429.

were totally unable[1] to read or to write. In many localities large numbers had been obliged to sign the Solemn League with their mark; in others the congregations were directed to lift up their hands in token of acceptance of the Covenant, and even in all districts we may not uncharitably conclude that those who were able to write were good enough to inscribe the names of their family, dependants, servants, and less literate neighbours who were not able to sign for themselves—a practice in subscribing public petitions and memorials which is not confined to those earlier days of our history.

Certainly in those years of civil war, social confusion, and religious strife, when Presbyterian ministers, who could best have furthered the educational interests of the people, were either fugitives from the law or "suspects" before it, it can hardly be credited that knowledge was more widely diffused amongst the population than when the eighteenth century began after twelve years of comparative social peace and political rest.

In 1696 Parliament anew enacted that a schoolmaster should be appointed for every parish, "a commodious house" should be provided for a school, and that assessments be made, half from the tenants and half from the heritors, for his salary. Never was there a wiser law, and never was a law more studiously disregarded. The course of the eighteenth century is full of energetic, but usually futile efforts on the part of Presbyteries to enforce it, by stirring up heritors in the country and magistrates in the towns—even by such vigorous measures as "letters of horning"—to a comprehension of the most rudimentary legal obligations and the elementary duties of their position. Even in counties which had very considerable populations, which were even notable for their enterprise and trade, there were large ranges which were without any schoolmaster settled among them.[2] In the early part of the century a traveller must

[1] Professor James Wodrow told his son Robert, the historian of the Church, that "many of the elder people, even the generality by far in the country in those days [of the persecution] could not read."—*Life of Prof. Wodrow*, by R. Wodrow, p. 172.

[2] Presbyteries like Penpont, in 1715, at Tyron, who insisted on the law being carried out requiring schools in every parish, did this not for the sake of secular

have journeyed through many parishes in Ayrshire, where in a former generation every class, from the laird to the ploughman, from the provost to the weaver's apprentice, had been zealous in support of the knottiest dogmas of the Confession, and found himself amidst an illiterate people who had never been to school, and whose children had no school to go to. Even up to 1735 in the Presbytery of Ayr [1]—which is not even coextensive with the county—there were twelve parishes in which was provided neither school nor legal means of maintaining one. The traveller passing through the Border country might have asked in vain to see the school at Hawick, and learned that there was none nearer than Jedburgh or Selkirk. In Fife he would have found the majority of the people not more literate—in 1715 one in three men could sign their names, and only one woman in twelve.[2] In Galloway it was the same; and it is stated that "few or none of the common people were able to read" in 1720.[3] Allowing for a little exaggeration in these reports, ignorance is not a surprising feature to find in districts so destitute of any means of education save that which came from the Church.[4]

education, but of religion—"taking into serious consideration that instructing youth in the grounds and principles of the true reformed religion is a most pious Christian work, and that in order to advance the same in this parouch it is necessary a school be settled."

[1] Edgar, *Church Life*, ii. 75. In 1752 there were still large villages in the same case. In 1710, Wilson's *Hist. of Hawick*, p. 124.

[2] Campbell's *Balmerino and its Abbey*, p. 236.

[3] *Stat. Acct. Tongland*, ix. 328; *Hist. of Galloway*, ii. 344.

[4] When in 1696 reports were sent into the Commission of Parliament the following returns were made, which threw light upon the state of education:—from Presbytery of Irvine: Irvine—salary, 200 merks with school-house and yard; Kilmaurs—no salary, or house, or school; Dreghorn—no salary, or house, or school; Dunlop—poor man teaches to read and write, no salary, no school; Largs—salary 100 merks, no school; Kilbirnie—man teaches to read and write, and presents, salary 40 merks; Kilbride—no schoolmaster, salary £40, no house, no school; Ardrossan—no schoolmaster, only salary 3 bolls of meal, given by my Lord Montgomery at pleasure; Beith—no schoolmaster, salary, 140 merks, no school, no house; Fenwick—poor honest man teaches to read and write, and presents, salary, 6 bolls of meal. Presbytery of Middlebie reports that seven parishes (Middlebie, Wauchop, Hoddam, Dornock, Kilpatrick-Fleming) have no legal salary for a teacher, that no schoolmaster in the Presbytery teaches Latin, and few can even read or write well; that no teacher has beyond £40 Scots as salary, and that the disorders prevalent are due to want of education. Presbytery of Lochmaben reports, there are few settled

In the Highlands the state of matters was of course incalculably worse; in fact, there may be said to have been no education at all, as all feeble efforts were vain on the part of Parliament to civilise either by churches or by schools those districts in which the Reformation never penetrated—a "dark and remote country inhabited by wild Scots," as writers described it.

Schools were to be found in which reading, writing, and the elements of religion were taught; but, unfortunately, this was all done in an unknown tongue, instructing the children who did not understand English by teachers who did not know Gaelic. In spite of most laudable efforts through the seventeenth century, except in Argyllshire, schools were unknown, and churches to a great extent were unoccupied till after the Revolution. Only after 1688 were effective measures taken to spread education in these remote districts, and these were due to the Church alone—under the "Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge," whose concern was not about the intellectual and secular interests of the people, but to instruct the children in the principles of the Christian—especially of the Calvinistic—faith; for religion formed the main part of the school instruction, the chief object of reading being to know the Bible and the Catechisms.

By 1732, through the exertions of the Church—under 109 parish schools[1] had been founded; yet even in 1758 there were no fewer than 175 Highland parishes still without a school or schoolmaster. Much need there was for these efforts, for the ignorance, the superstition, the savagery of the Highlands were the despair of the Lowlands.[2] What religion clung to them in many places was but fragments of the half-forgotten, wholly perverted Popery of olden days. They were full of

schoolmasters from want of salaries. Paisley reports: Paisley—salary, 250 merks; Kilmalcolm, Killala, Innerkip, Erskine, Kilbarchan, have no salary; Eastwood and Lochwinnoch have a master, though no salary; Neilston has a salary of £60 Scots, and Renfrew Grammar has £5 sterling of salary.—*Munimenta Univ. Glas.* ii. 549.

[1] *Moral Statistics of Highlands*, Inverness.

[2] Visits to holy wells for cure of diseases, with votive offerings of rags and bread to the water spirit. Beltane fires, incantations, charms, and libations of milk to appease some unseen power, fairies, kelpies, etc.

strange, pagan customs which they retained from the past, with no notion of their origin or their meaning—and, in truth, many of these they retained, long after education was common amongst them, beyond the eighteenth century. In many districts where there had been little or no public worship and instruction, the ignorance of Highlanders of the rudiments of Protestant faith and observances seemed hopeless to the clergy called to minister to them. There was the small fair in the kirkyard [1] on Sunday, in cases where worship had been regularly held, the roup of cattle, the sale of ale and snuff—all which filled ministers with despair; while the savage feuds, the pagan customs, and wild superstitions and neglect of ordinances were enormities hard to be borne, harder still to overcome. Much need there was for the "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge," founding schools with religious instruction in such dark, benighted regions. Yet, writing in 1775, the Rev. Lachlan Shaw could say, "I remember when from Speymouth, through Strathspey, Badenoch, and Lochiel to Lorne there was but one school; and it was much to find in a parish three persons that could read or write." [2] But later still the efforts to spread education had made so little way amongst a destitute, listless people, scattered along remote straths and separated by moor, and morass, and mountain from the nearest school, that in 1821, it is said, half of the population of 400,000 people were unable to read.

Though the Lowlands in many extensive districts at the beginning of the eighteenth century were destitute of parish schools, and the inhabitants to a vast extent were unable to read or to write, it would be a mistake to think that they

[1] In Sage's *Memorabilia Domestica*.—"The east and west sides of the parish continued their open competition after divine service, and a public market was held in the churchyard. Some people remembered the sale of oxen, yokes, snuff, etc. on the Sunday. The last parcel brought into the churchyard on Sundays was tossed out of the bag by Mr. Gillies the minister, 'who paid the value.'"—Gordon's *Chronicles of Keith*, p. 354; *Stat. Acct.*, Fordyce, iii. 64; *Lives of the Haldanes*, p. 8.

[2] *History of Moray*, p. 157.—The Synod of Argyll published the Psalms in Gaelic after the Revolution, and also the Confession of Faith. In 1690 the General Assembly printed 1000 copies of the Scriptures in the Irish version which had appeared in 1685. The New Testament in Gaelic appeared in 1769, but no version of the Old Testament till 1802.—*Moral Statistics of Highlands.*

were in consequence utterly ignorant. In many cases where there was no parochial teacher appointed, there was a barn or hut where some old man, or some poor cripple, incapable of any active occupation, formed a class of children, who came to him to learn a little reading and writing; they gave him at the rate of one shilling a quarter, which was usually paid in meal. At other times and places a student, anxious to eke out a living till college classes began, or a man who had aimed at a pulpit and missed it, undertook to teach some families, and was allowed to gather them in the kirk or a granary.[1] Meanwhile parents, although not able to sign their names, acquired from the Church a strange amount of theological and Biblical information—whether accurate or not is another story. They might not be able to read a psalm, but the precentor on Sundays read it out line by line, as it was being sung, and they were enabled to join in the long drawn-out nasal tunes in the minor key to the familiar words. During the Episcopal days the schoolmaster, as precentor or reader, had been accustomed to read copious passages from the Scriptures from the "latron" before the third bell rang and service began; and in Presbyterian times, when this custom ended, the minister read his chapter and lectured thereon, preached by the hour, and catechised the people at the Wednesday services, and in their homes on the Catechism and doctrines. By these means information was worked into their minds; although, unfortunately, it was all theological and tended to foster dogmatism of the narrowest type.

II

In parishes where a schoolmaster was settled, the difficulty was for children through successive generations, who had trudged over moor and morass, and by the almost impassable tracts through waste lands, to find a school. It is true that Acts of Parliament had ordered that "the heritors of every parish should provide a commodious house for a school"; but to what Parliament proposed the heritors were not disposed, and it was too often impossible to force them to obey the law.

[1] As at Ettrick when Boston went there.

The most extraordinary and most inconvenient expedients, therefore, were adopted to afford accommodation for scholars.[1] In many places the kirk was used as schoolroom; in others the church steeple, a family vault, a granary, a byre or stable, or any dilapidated hovel, was utilised. Sometimes a Session allowed a few shillings out of "penalties" to hire a room or a barn; but usually the poor man had to pay the rent out of his own miserable earnings. Even though a school of some sort had been provided in former generations, in the eighteenth century it was frequently allowed to go to utter ruin. When the thatch roof was rotten and swarming with rats, and the rain poured through on the children, the Kirk-Session ordered each scholar[2] to bring straw to thatch the broken-down building, but it often happened that the straw was so scarce they could not supply sufficient materials to cover it. Usually schools were small dirty rooms, the windows often without glass to let in the light, or deal boards to shut out the cold and wind and sleet;—rooms dense with smoke of the peat lighted to warm the children who had travelled miles over the moors barefoot to assemble at seven o'clock in the mornings. In many cases there were no desks to write at and no benches to sit upon,[3] and the scholars lay on floors, filthy with their muddied coating of rushes or straw which it was the task of the children to supply. In 1725 the Town Council of St

[1] In 1772 the Session of Strathblane record "their distressful observation of the injuries the school sustained with the two preceding schoolmasters who were tossed from barn to barn, and subsequently were obliged to pay house rent out of their own familys, out of the poor pittance of a 4 pound sterling salary. The Session also regret that the same in one manner or another has been the grievance of this parish ever since the year 1714." Till 1731 school held in kirk, and after that for a while in the stable at the Kirkgate inn.—Guthrie-Smith's *Strathblane*, pp. 240-42.

[2] 1717.—The school roof so bad the scholars could not stay because of the rain, the Kirk-Session order every scholar to bring some straw to thack the school; but the straw was so scarce that the parents could not supply it to their children; therefore only half of the school could be covered.—Cramond's *Ch. of Grange*, p. 14.

[3] Mr. Thomas Kirk, when he travelled from Yorkshire to Scotland in 1677, saw many things that startled him, and amongst these was the state of school at Burntisland, where there was no stool or form, and only a seat for the master, while the children sat on the earthen floor in a litter on the heather and grass with which the ground was strewn "like pigs in a stye."—*Modern Account of Scotland.*

Andrews were informed that "the boys cannot sit for learning to wreatt; so that they are necessitat to wreatt upon the floor lying upon their bellies." In 1711 the Kirk-Session of Kilmarnock (everything public-spirited was done or urged by the Sessions) pleaded with the heritors to repair the school walls and roof which were ready to fall; but the heritors protesting that they could not afford to repair it, a laborious house to house collection was made to raise £2 or £3 from the bonnet-makers and serge weavers to carry out the work of restoration—an effort which proved quite fruitless.[1] Such illustrations, which might be extended with painful ease, serve to show that the condition of matters in rural districts was not much better in burghs, where there might be expected to have been both ampler resources and greater liberality.

What added to the wretched discomfort of the teachers was the want of any dwelling-house—a misery from which they constantly suffered. No house had been provided by statute, although there was often assigned an annual allowance for a lodging known as "chamber-maill,"[2] equal to about ten shillings (£7 Scots), and the schoolmaster lived in a poor dark hovel consisting usually of one, or at most two rooms, "but and ben," which served as both school and dwelling. When the teacher was married, which was probable, and had a large family, which was almost certain, the cares and trials of domestic life added terribly to those of scholastic work, in one little, dirty, overcrowded, unventilated, ill-lighted apartment, where blended the bawling of the master, the shrill voices of the scholars, the crying of infants, the bustle of washing and cooking of the wife; and all this made the schoolhouse a very Babel. To separate private from public life was a problem which many in despair left unsolved, save by the simple expedient adopted in the case of the literary and erratic and not too sober teacher of Rathven, George Halket (to whom has been ascribed the song of "Logie o' Buchan"[3]).

[1] Grant's *Burgh Schools.*

[2] 1672: Town Council of Lanark resolve to pay the schoolmaster for his chamber-maill sex punds yeirlie.—*Burgh Records*, 194. Hawick Town Council in 1712 allow £7 (10s.) for chamber-mail.

[3] P. Buchan's *Gleanings of Old Ballads;* Walker's *Bards of Bon-Accord*, p. 199.

When he married in 1718 the heritors reversed the dilapidated box-bed which was part of the school furniture, so that its back might form a partition in the middle of the hut to divide it into school and bedroom, and put in, at a cost of £7 : 10s. Scots, a window to light up the narrow chamber they thus made for the teacher and his family.

In many districts in the Lowlands, where pupils were scattered far and wide by broad moorlands and waste lands, the teacher was accustomed, or rather compelled, to go about from place to place, living with the parents in their hovels, in remote farms and hill districts, teaching the children in the barns or sheds.[1] In the Highlands for a large part of the year the teacher required, according to the phrase, to be "ambulatory;" teaching and living as he best could in filthy, verminous huts, by far-off loch sides and in remote straths, instructing children (who only knew Gaelic) in the English language and grammar, which they never learned at all.[2]

While education was starved, the schoolmasters were in deep poverty. The salary authorised by Act was a minimum of 100 merks (£5), and the maximum was 200 (£10), the former being the common salary in country parishes to a man of education who had to teach Latin, mathematics, grammar, arithmetic, writing, and singing.[3] This sum was prescribed, it is true, at a period when provisions were cheap, a dozen eggs for 1d., 1 lb. of mutton 1½d., a boll of meal to make his porridge was 6s., when the rough plaiding and woollen shirts were woven at home, and shoes cost 10d. a pair. But the salary was poor at the beginning of the century and meant abject poverty at the end of it.

Lucky was the schoolmaster who did get the statutory income, mean as it was; for often there was the utmost difficulty in extracting it from maybe fifty or one hundred tenants and heritors in petty sums of a penny or fractions of a penny;[4] the poor man being put off on the score of bad harvests or by the threat of removing the children because of his importunity.

[1] *Stat. Acct.*, Calder, viii. 480; Kirkmaiden, ii. 159.
[2] *Stat. Acct.*, Glenholm, Perthshire, iv. 433.
[3] *Stat. Acct.*, Forglen, xiv. 539.
[4] *Scots Magazine*, 1765, vol. xxvii. p. 172.

In some cases the teacher was obliged to remain content with 40 merks, in spite of the earnest efforts of Kirk-Sessions to keep bailies and heritors to their bargain by ecclesiastical and civil threats. Cases occur where the master had only the endowment of six bolls or eight bolls of meal, the unfortunate man being expected to subsist on wages only sufficient to supply his family with one bowl of porridge a day.[1] In these days literature was in a painfully literal sense "cultivated on a little oatmeal." One can sympathise with the desperate master of Maryton, who leaves his charge in 1727 because of his not being paid his due, avowing that "he will cast himself on the hands of an All Sufficient Being who is able to support him in all difficulties."[2]

While in all places the means were utterly inadequate to give encouragement to education, in some places possessing a considerable population there were no means at all, the heritors and burgesses stoutly refusing to burden themselves.[3] It is curious to observe how in towns which in this century have attained to eminence as centres of wealth, as well as in towns which in olden days were important and prosperous, though now they have sunk into obscurity, the utmost difficulty was found in imposing the burdens on the heritors and councillors. Nominally the maximum of £10 was assigned to the master of the burgh school, but the people not seldom refused to be "stented" for the salary. Rather than levy rates, funds were sought from strange sources—in some places, as was the case in Banff, from fees for the use of town bells and mortcloth, or from the fines on criminals, as

[1] Kirk-Session of Maryton for "one year deferred payment to the schoolmaster because the money in hand being brass," *i.e.* bad copper.—*Parish of Old Montrose or Maryton*, by Fraser, p. 230. In 1721 the salary of Straiton was 80 merks; at Dalmellington £40 Scots (£3); at St. Quivox it is 8 bolls of victual derived from a mortification. In 1746 the minister of Monkton reports that the salary was only 40 merks, "so that he could not find a proper man for that sum."—Edgar's *Church Life*, ii. 94.

[2] Fraser's *Maryton*, p. 56.

[3] In Salt-Preston or Prestonpans in 1725 heritors refuse to give anything because the school has an endowment producing "the quite sufficient sum of 70 merks a year," for which the teacher, by ordnance of the founder in 1604, is required to teach Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. It is not surprising to learn that the school "sinks into contempt."—*Analecta Scotica*, ii. 374.

occurred in Kirkcudbright, where in 1696 the schoolmaster is paid £7 Scots "as part of the harvest salary from fines imposed for blood and battery." If there was no common property belonging to the town, if there was no special assessment made and no funds in hand, the town treasurer might be directed "to borrow it if possible." If money could not be readily got the heritors perhaps declared the school vacant; or requested the schoolmaster "to give down his salary," and on his declining voluntarily to solve the difficulty by this self-denying ordinance, ordered him "to renounce his office at Candlemas."[1] The salaries were never free from risk of being tampered with by parsimonious town councils, for if the master did not give perfect satisfaction they might quietly mulct him of a large portion of his poor allowance; or, acting as a cautious corporation to its scholastic servant, might give nothing, "but promise a present if he deserve it."[2]

Occasionally, though rarely, it must be owned, the bailies of a burgh burst into unexpected liberality, and did their utmost, in strict accordance with economy, to encourage faithful service. This occurs in Paisley, when the Town Council (in 1705) give to the headmaster of the grammar school,[3] "struggling with a paucity of scholars," the sum of half-a-guinea "to buy some necessaries with, as reward for his great pains in exercising his function." Two years after they munificently present the master, as a further mark of their high approval, with "half-a-guinea to buy a new hat, towards his further encouragement in attending to the school." To mitigate surprise at this form of generosity, we must remember that a "hat" in those days was an article of attire which was the sign of personal dignity.[4] In country parishes the laird

[1] Burntisland, 1700; Linlithgow.

[2] As at Greenock and Kirkcudbright in 1765.—Grant's *Burgh Schools*, 485. In 1709 the salary of the headmaster of the High School, Edinburgh, was £16 : 13 : 4; in 1598 it had been £1 : 13 : 4.—Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 19.

[3] Brown's *Grammar School of Paisley*, p. 121.

[4] Lanark, 1716.—"Baillies and counsell, considering how decent and becoming it would be, that at their convention each counsellor wear a hatt for the credit of the place and of themselves as representatives of the burgh, injoin use of the same."—*Burgh Records*, p. 285.

and the minister were the only owners of a three-cornered hat, and even the bailies themselves, except in garb of office, wore, like all the rest of their fellow-townsmen in trade, the blue or black bonnet in daily life. It was, therefore, a high compliment; and further it deserves notice, as being probably the only recorded case of voluntary encouragement of education belonging to those penurious days.

Besides the legal salary, which they did not always secure, the schoolmaster had his fees which (at no time very large) were extremely small in the early part of the century, being 1s. a quarter from twenty-five or thirty children, for reading, writing, and "counting," and 2s. if Latin and other higher branches were taught. To eke out his meagre living, he anxiously accepted any perquisite which custom allowed him under the indefinite and comprehensive category of "casualties." Some of these were derived from sources which prove that he was too sensitive to the cruelty of his own position to be sensitive to the cruelty to the lower animals. Up to the close of the century the popular pastime of cock-fighting and cock-throwing by the boys at Fastern's E'en brought no small gain to the teacher. Every boy who could afford it brought a fighting cock to school, and on payment of twelve pennies Scots to the master, the cocks were pitted against each other in the schoolroom, in presence of the gentry of the neighbourhood. Then the cocks slain in mortal combat became the teacher's property; while those cocks which would not fight, called "fugies," were fixed to a stake in the yard and killed one after another at cock-throwing, at one bodle for each shot. The schoolmaster got the bodles (in later years the half-pence), and sumptuously feasted his family on the corpses for days together, as a pleasing relief to the monotonous diet of oatmeal—having regaled the scholars in modest hospitality with liquor (ale, and it occasionally happened whisky, later in the century) in recompense. This custom produced no inconsiderable addition to the teacher's livelihood; in some districts, indeed, it is said, the dues exacted from the pupils amounted to a sum equal to a whole quarter's fees.[1]

[1] The Town Council of Dumfries made the following regulations in 1725: "The under teacher keep the door and exact not more than twelve pennies Scots

Other perquisites there were which came gratefully to half-starved pedagogues. There were, for instance, "gifts," such as candles at Candlemas; one penny from each scholar on the first Mondays of May, June, and July, which were holidays called "bent silver plays," the money being nominally to buy the "bent" or rushes which grew in the marshy, undrained land to cover the earthen floor of the schoolroom, but really devoted to buying clothes for the master's ragged family; there was, also, a peat brought by each scholar in the morning for the fire, in winter time, if the school was luxurious enough to have a hearth at all.[1]

In burgh schools there were perquisites of a slightly more imposing nature, and it was an eventful day of the year when there were presented, the "gifts," "oblations," or "free-will offerings," as they were euphemistically styled, as the compulsory tributes to the Pope were called "benevolences." On that occasion at Candlemas (2nd of February) the master sat at his desk, the stern air of authority gone, the instruments of punishment concealed, with a subdued expectancy on his countenance. The oblations by the scholars varied from 6d. to 2s. 6d. as the country and century advanced in prosperity. When the humblest sum was presented it was received in dead silence; when it advanced to 2s. 6d., equal to a quarter's fee, the master exclaimed "Vivat!" when it was twice that sum the voice ascended in *crescendo* "Floreat bis!" a higher tribute was greeted with "Floreat ter!" and when the son of a local magnate produced half a guinea the exclamation rose to "Gloriat!" and he or she was hailed and crowned as "Victor," "King," or "Queen."[2] The ordeal was as un-

from each scholar for the benefit of bringing a cock to fight in the schoolroom; and that none be suffered to enter that day except gentlemen and persons of note from whom nothing is to be demanded; and what money is given is by the scholars, the under-teacher is to receive and apply to his own use for his pains and trouble; and that no scholar except who pleases shall furnish a cock; but that all scholars whether they have a cock or not can enter the school. Those that have none paying 2s. Scots as forfeit."—M'Dowall's *Dumfries*, p. 597.

[1] M'Dowall's *Dumfries*, p. 597; Guthrie-Smith's *Strathblane*. These days had been originally holidays when the boys went to collect "bent," but as boys wrought mischief with their hooks, it was changed to 1d. plus holiday.

[2] Gibson's *Hist. of Glasg.*, p. 194; *Glasgow Past and Present*, iii. 408. The

dignified for the master as it was injurious to the scholars —the crest-fallen, bitter humiliation of the poor lads, the contemptuous purse pride of the rich pupils. This customary blackmail was exacted in all town public schools, but in 1786 the Glasgow Town Council resolved that while the offerings should be continued, the exclamations "Vivat," "Gloriat," "Floreat," and the custom of cheering the victor, should be discontinued.

To return to poorer times, poorer districts, and poorer men; it is evident that no man could live, far less with a family, only on the miserable earnings derived from salary and fees. To make a livelihood, the teacher of the parish schools acted in other capacities, and drew money for other humble offices. He was registrar of baptisms and marriages at a groat each; he proclaimed banns, officiated as precentor at about 12s. a year, and acted as clerk to the Kirk-Session. Yet all these multifarious offices, combined with his salary, fees, and "gifts" as teacher, produced no more income than £10 a year on an average. Many had much less; even the master of a parish, who professed to teach the extensive curriculum of French, Latin, Greek, mathematics, and navigation.[1] Few, fortunately, descended to the state of the luckless dominie of Heriot, who was schoolmaster, precentor, clerk, beadle, and grave-digger, with a combined income of only £8 sterling, at the end of the century.[2] Yet once upon a time a schoolmaster[3] in Bute had been glad to resign his office on being promoted to the more lucrative office of beadle.

As if to make every arrangement fatal to any prospect of comfort to the teacher, he had not even security of tenure in his position. The office was held on the most precarious footing, sometimes on good behaviour, sometimes by the month, sometimes by the term, sometimes at the will of the heritors. The result of all these harassing conditions and insufficient pay was that in many cases schools remained for years vacant;

humour of the scene was heightened when any boys paid their offerings in coppers in order to enjoy the sight of the master counting his present before inserting the amount in his book.

[1] *Stat. Acct.*, Monymusk.

[2] *Stat. Acct.*, xvi. 54.

[3] Kingarth in 1682.—Hewison's *Hist. of Bute*, ii. 285.

qualified men could not be got to accept such posts,[1] and the only persons who would take some of the worse endowed schools were students preparing for the ministry, who taught for a few months; broken-down scholars, cripples who could not enter into business, men disappointed of a profession, driven to live somehow.[2] If a teacher ventured to eke out a living by keeping a little shop he was at once threatened with dismissal. A minister writing towards the end of the century bitterly says: "A parish school is now a temporary employment for some necessitous person of ability, or a perpetual employment for some languid, insignificant mortal hardly deserving the shelter of a charity workhouse."[3]

In spite of all these adverse circumstances—especially the poverty of the teachers, which lowered them in the social grade and kept out of the profession men who were able and cultured, and too ambitious to content themselves with an artisan's income with more than an artisan's labour—it is astonishing to observe the effect of the parish schools of Scotland in promoting knowledge and intelligence amongst the people. They gave access to instruction to the lowest and the poorest as well as highest, for the laird's and the ploughman's son, the sons of the carpenter and the lord of session, met together; they opened to them professions and posts in which so many rose to distinction; they effected an unequalled diffusion of education to every class in the country, and the teaching of the schools formed an easy stepping-stone for all to the highest training of the Universities. The burgh schools, which were higher in endowment and position, had the services of not a few men of admirable skill and learning, and even obscure country schools not seldom contained men who afterwards in the Church took a conspicuous place as leaders, ministers, scholars, and men of letters.[4] The great

[1] Such statements as the following are far from uncommon in the *Statistical Account*, Kilearnan: "Salary is £8 : 6 : 8, and remains vacant because no qualified person will accept it."—xvii. 357.

[2] The man appointed at one time to the post of schoolmaster in Westruther was chosen because he was a good penman, and to qualify him to teach was directed to attend Greenlaw school for six months.—*Kirk-Session Records.*

[3] *Stat. Acct.*, Urr.

[4] Thomas Ruddiman; Rev. John Skinner, Episcopal minister, author of *Tullochgorum;* Dr. Beattie; Michael Bruce, are amongst the number.

results from the educational system of Scotland are best appreciated by gaining acquaintance with the adverse condition of the schools and schoolmasters from whom they sprang.

The candidate for a parochial school passed a rigid examination, largely in theology, before the Presbytery; but when he applied for mastership in a burgh school he had to be judged as to his qualifications to be teacher, or "doctor," to pass an examination in Latin, English, arithmetic, to recite a passage from Milton, and to sing a psalm before an investigating body consisting of the minister, and probably a webster, a baker, and a brewer, who represented the Town Council. The capacity to sing a psalm was an all-important one, as the schoolmasters were required to teach common church tunes,[1] to sing part of a psalm with the scholars every morning, and to present in kirk on the Sundays. To such qualifications of the candidate there turned up another requirement, which is rather enigmatically described in records of the middle of the century as "teaching English in the modern method." By that period the country was awakening to a consciousness of the many provincialisms in its speech and writing, as well as ways and customs. It was natural that there should be a similar desire in burghs to bring the schools and their children into harmony more with the age in pronunciation, spelling, and reading. Teachers, therefore, in many places were enjoined to teach English "after the modern mode," and even so early as 1738 cases occurred of masters being removed from their posts (as in Ayr) because of their being "not known in the new method."[2]

[1] General Assembly Act, 1712. In Grammar Schools it was usually the duty of the English master to teach the music: hence he was called the "sang master."

[2] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, p. 390. Mr. W. Walkinshaw, in 1758 appointed to be public English master of the burgh of Paisley and precentor and reader in the Low Church, "promises to do his utmost to instruct himself so as to teach English in the school after the new method."—Brown's *Grammar School of Paisley*, p. 280. Master at Irvine, 1746, and at Forres in 1760, chosen to teach "new method."

III

In long bygone times folk were obliged to take as much work out of the day as possible, for there was little to be done when darkness set in except to go to bed. In the homes of the poor there was no light except from the fitful gleams of the peat fires, as the only means of illuminating the dingy huts was the smoky glimmer of the "ruffy"—a wick stuck in the cleft of a fir stick or a stalk of hemp, which was lit on such set occasions as family worship. All work began as early as day-break in field and shop, and children began their tasks as soon as light would permit. In rural parishes they met from October to February at sunrise and were dismissed at sunset, while during the rest of the year the time for assembling was at seven in the morning till six in the evening, with two hours' interval for breakfast and dinner. In 1737,[1] for example, rules are laid down by the Presbytery of Inverurie that the school shall be open from the time scholars can see to read in the morning till twelve o'clock noon, and from one o'clock till the light fail at night, from November till February, and thereafter from eight o'clock in the morning till six, with two hours' interval, these rules being accompanied by the significant caution that the teacher do abstain from tippling, and shall conduct his scholars to worship on the Sabbath. During the previous century the hours were even longer and earlier. Then the Grammar School of Glasgow met at five o'clock in the morning, and the High School of Edinburgh[2] opened at six o'clock, and in winter at eight o'clock, until 1694—at which date the considerate magistrates of the capital, "considering that the school is situated in a corner at some distance, and that many inhabitants are unwilling to expose their children to the cold winter mornings, ordain nine o'clock from 1st November to 1st March." But till late in the century the usual practice was to attend school in the longer days from seven in the morning till six in the evening, with the usual interval.[3]

[1] Davidson's *Inverurie*, p. 225.

[2] Steven's *High School of Edinburgh*.

[3] These were the hours in Dumfries, Aberdeen, Ayr (1761), Banff, and, up to 1803, in Elgin, where in 1649 six o'clock in the morning had been ordained.

When we bear in mind the dreary, almost impassable tracks and long distances to be traversed in those days, and that the children were provided with no better fare than a few boiled greens in winter, which they carried tied in a cloth,[1] we can realise the amount of fatigue and suffering, both bodily and mental, which were undergone by our ancestors in the pursuit of knowledge.

It cannot be said that these severe strains upon the strength and spirit of the children and teachers were relieved by the full relaxation of holidays; for in the beginning of the century, at any rate, there seems to have been no general half holiday on the Saturday,[2] and they had only to look forward to play days at Candlemas and Whitsunday, or for the advent of some distinguished visitor to the school in whose honour the scholars were let free. In summer the vacation came; but it was usually restricted in towns to ten days or a fortnight, and it seems to have been quite exceptional for burgh schools to be closed for a month. Montrose, for example, in 1705 allowed only the first week of June. Forfar Town Council, so late as 1762, gave only a harvest "vacance" of fourteen days. Not many were moved with such kindliness for the young as expresses itself in ungrammatical tenderness in the arrangement of Perth magistrates to give holidays at any time between 15th May and 15th June, "because it is hurtful for scholars at the end of August, which is the period of grien fruit and piese, which doe occasion diseases and is destructive to their health." Other occasional holidays were few and far between.[3]

[1] Struthers' *Hist.* ii. 625.

[2] In 1710 the professors of Edinburgh University recommend the Town Council that the scholars of the High School be allowed "every fortnight to refresh and play themselves a whole afternoon, in place of all the ordinary occasions of dismissing scholars, such as entering of new scholars, paying of quarter payment, and at the desire of the victor at Candlemas or of ladies and gentlemen walking in the yard."—Bower's *University of Edinburgh*, ii. 109.

[3] Grant's *Burgh Schools*, pp. 190-93. In Dunbar in 1696 it is ordained so that "the children's labour be sweetened to them, that every Tuesday and Thursday, the dayes being fine, they shall be suffered to play at the place appoynted for that end from halfe three till four afternoon, after which tyme they are to return till six; these dayes being unfitt for recreation may be delayed until the first faire season, with every Saturday afternoone, together with the accustomed festival days—observing the ancient rites of their oblations (to testificat their thankfulness to their masters); att and after which tymes the schollars, with

Rules, however, which suited town schools were inapplicable to the country, where boys and girls were in great request for farm-work, as fields were unenclosed and cattle required to be herded from grain, and the harvest required help from all hands. The customary signal to the master for breaking up classes in summer was the presentation of an ear of ripe oats on his desk; and that indication none could resist. Once free from school children were kept at work at the farms so long that the poor master suffered grievous loss, as the fees were paid precisely for the period that the pupils attended the school.[1]

The modes of scholastic life in rural quarters differed in many respects from those in towns and large villages, and the duties of the master in the latter cases were considerably augmented by the religious superintendence exercised by him over his pupils on the Sundays. On that day he really acted as a pedagogic providence. Every Sunday morning[2] the boys were compelled to repair to school for prayer and examination in Scriptures; they were thence marshalled off to kirk,[3] the headmaster in front, the "doctor," or assistant, bringing up the rear. At close of afternoon service they were escorted back to school, to give an account of what they had heard. In some places they even came to school four times on Sunday —before and after each service, in accordance with the order: "After prayers the several classes shall be examined at the second ringing of the bell on questions of the Catechism with Scripture proofs and an exposition of a chapter of the Latin New Testament"; and after going to church again the boys remeet and give an account, "as far their memories and maturities will admit," of the notes that have been made

a kyndly homeliness, mediat for the play by the mouth of the victor, as also at the entry of new schollars (if earnestly intreated) they may have it for all night."—Miller's *Hist. of Dunbar*, p. 212.

[1] *Stat. Acct.*, Wamphray, xxi. 234.

[2] Aberdeen *Burgh Records*, p. 328.

[3] *Church of Cullen*, p. 85. Up till 1793 in Aberdeen the master undertook on every Lord's Day and Fast Day to convene scholars and "cause them to read with propriety and decorum passages from Scripture and other devout authors, and to repeat the lectures and texts given by the preacher, with such references as the preacher may draw therefrom, as far their memories and maturities will admit."—Grant, *Burgh Schools*.

during the discourses. To this rapid scribbling of sermon "heads" in kirk during boyhood has been attributed, by a sufferer from the custom, a share in the production of the bad writing of Scotsmen in past times.[1]

Such was the excruciating practice in all the burgh and larger schools in Scotland through a great part of the century, gradually to lose its punctuality and its rigour as the time went on, till, as dissent grew stronger and pious austerity generally grew weaker, the attendance diminished to vanishing point and the old fashion passed away.[2] To preserve a careful surveillance over his charges seated in the gallery assigned to them, the master took his position at the "desk" near the door, to watch lest any scholars should attempt to disappear during the service, and it was not uncommon for him to be armed with a long pole for the purpose of tapping the heads of inattentive or somnolent pupils.

One of the oldest scholastic customs in Scotland was that of selecting two scholars to stand up in the kirk before the pulpit between the second and third bell every Lord's day,[3] one to ask, the other to answer, the Catechism "in a loud voice, for the edification of common and ignorant persons and servants on the grounds of their salvation, that they may learn the same, perquair, and be brought to the knowledge thereof." In the beginning of the seventeenth century[4] in some churches it had been the practice for "twa bairns" to repeat, between the prayers and the blessings, Mr. Craig's "Caritches openlie in the kirk for the instruction of the commons." But long after Mr. John Craig and his Caritches had passed into popular oblivion, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms had taken their place, every Sunday two boys were, in large villages and towns, told off to repeat them in the audience of such of the congregation as remained in the kirk[5] between the forenoon and after-

[1] Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, *Memoirs*, p. 27, Scot. Hist. Society.

[2] In 1796 the Council of Aberdeen complains that though a master regularly attends at church every Sunday morning, and says prayers and attends boys to church, of late years very few attended.

[3] Aberdeen in 1604 and in 1700.—*Burgh Records*, pp. 328-330.

[4] In Leith in 1616.—Steven's *High School*, p. 69.

[5] Kirk-Session of Tyningham, 17 May, 1703, gives rules for the management of the school: "1st, The school must be convenit at seven in the morning and

noon diets of worship. The demands on the master's vigilance were not concluded by his marshalling his flock twice on the Sabbath, and his praying and catechising them on Scripture and the preacher's discourses, which he was apt to forget himself. He was further bound to watch over them through the live-long day; to take care that they did not behave themselves unseemly, that they "refrained[1] from profane oaths and ungodly strife," and to see that they kept indoors during the rest of the Lord's day. As the century advanced, as the old traditions of puritanic past died out, as commerce, trade, and fashion broke down the prejudices of the laity, while intelligent "Moderatism" was teaching worldly wisdom to the clergy, these ancient rigorous practices fell more and more into abeyance. Town councils became less exacting of the standing pious rules; parents became less desirous for them; and the lot of both schoolmasters and scholars on the Sundays became less grievous to be borne, much to the affliction of the godly.

Side by side with this stern regard for the upbringing of youth in the nurture of the Lord and the admonition of the teacher, it is remarkable to observe the encouragement given to play-acting in schools which were under the all-seeing eye of the Church. For a long period there had existed in Grammar Schools the practice of performing Latin plays. This was designed for the furtherance of learning, not to pander to any sinful love of playing; and, indeed, the pieces selected were admirably fitted to extinguish utterly all fondness for the stage in juvenile breasts throughout their natural life. The author of a Latin grammar which had great vogue, Alexander Home,

dismissed at five in the afternoon. 2nd, The master must pray with his scholars morning and evening, when he convenes the school and dismisses. 3rd, He must cause his scholars get the Catechisms exactly and distinctly by heart, and hear them repeat the same on Saturday forenoon. 4th, He must gather his scholars on the Sabbath morning before the sermon and pray with them, and then take them to church with him, when after he hath a psalm the Catechism must be repeated by two of them—one asking and the other answering. 5th, He must enjoin such as can write to write the sermon, and on Monday morning cause his scholars to give an account of what they mind thereof, and subjoin some pious exhortations and advices to them."—P. 128, Ritchie's *Churches of St. Baldred;* Aberdeen *Burgh Records*, p. 340. In Dumfries in 1724.—M'Dowall, p. 597. Repetition of Catechism by boys in kirk re-enjoined by Presbytery of Ayr in 1747.—Edgar, ii. 122.

[1] Peebles, 1711.—Grant, p. 434.

schoolmaster of Dunbar, had composed, when James VI. was king, a piece called "Bellum Grammaticale"—a serio-comic piece of portentous dulness, in which the various parts of speech are personified, and appear to argue forth their respective claims to precedence over the rest. During the early decades of the eighteenth century this pedagogic moral play was a favourite performance on festive school occasions, when the public functionaries, eminent citizens, and ministers came to witness it with subdued excitement. To display their appreciation of these Latin dramatic entertainments, town councils[1] voted so much (or rather, so little) yearly to defray the cost—not that they launched into large expense in so doing, the sum of £6 Scots, or 9s. being the usual amount of their aid.[2]

Tired of this weary composition, the "young gentlemen" of the Grammar School of Dalkeith, in 1734, enacted something more enlivening—producing before a large assemblage the tragedy of "Julius Cæsar" and the comedy of "Æsop"—acting, as it is recorded, "with a judgment and address inimitable beyond their years."[3] The same year at Kirkcaldy Burgh School a piece composed by the master was presented on more scholastic and less dramatic principle, and the very subject enables us to judge how little in its deadly pedantry it pandered to the passion for excitement in youth. Thus runs the title: "The Royal Council of Advice; or, the Regular Education of Boys the foundation of all other material improvements." When in Perth Grammar School the pupils performed the decorous play of "Cato," nothing but approval could be expressed; but when next year (1735) the moral drama of "George Barnwell" was acted, not merely once, but twice, it had a *succès de scandale;* although it had been produced to foster the morals of youth by showing the pernicious effects of vice. At that very time Lillo's play, having reclaimed young men

[1] In 1705 the Council of Paisley "by a plurality of votes allow £20 Scots towards defraying the expense of their acts of 'Bellum Grammaticale'; and also for their encouragement promise to erect a theatre at their own expense."—Brown's *Paisley Grammar School*, p. 120.

[2] In 1677 the bailies of Lanark were contented with giving "sax pounds Scots to help to get materials to the scholars for Bellum Grammaticum."—*Burgh Records*, p. 194.

[3] Chambers' *Domestic Annals*, iii. 584.

from vicious courses, was considered so highly improving that in London theatres it was usually performed the night before Christmas and on Easter Monday. The "fair city" of Perth, however, was sorely exercised: on Sabbath it is chronicled, "A very learned moral sermon suitable to the occasion was preached against converting the school into a play-house, whereby youth was diverted from their studies and employed in the buffooneries of the stage." A committee was forthwith appointed to "deal with" the reckless master, and an overture was prepared to the General Assembly to suppress stage plays in schools and dancing balls in the place.[1] Ecclesiastical if not popular opinion proved too strong for all dramatic license, and the wave of fervour and pietism which was passing over the country, which reached its highest pitch in the revivals of Cambuslang and Kilsyth, and was keen in Perthshire, at this time soon extinguished a good old custom never more to be revived. Much more in consonance with the spirit of the age than any favouring of the drama in youthful breasts was the treatment dealt out to the luckless teacher of Greenock. Mr. John Wilson had acquired some reputation as a poet; he had composed a poem, entitled "The Clyde" (published after his death under the editorship of John Leyden), as well as a tragedy on "Earl Douglas." This skill in practising literature was considered so deleterious to the art of teaching it, that it was treated as a crime instead of a qualification by the prosaic council, and his appointment as schoolmaster was thereupon saddled with the hard condition that "he should abandon that profane and unprofitable art of poem-making."[2] Thereupon John Wilson made a holocaust of his treasured manuscripts, to pacify the bailies and secure a livelihood for his family.

IV

One feature of the educational system of Scotland was the remarkable jealousy of any interference with the monopoly of parish schools as the sole legal dispenser of knowledge. This

[1] Sir James Stewart relates how he played at North Berwick Burgh School in "Henry VIII." in 1727.—*Coltness Collections*, i. 286.

[2] Greenshield's *Lesmahagow*, Appendix, p. 38.

opposition to private schools did not exist so long as burghs were not taxed to support any other; but from the hour a "stent" was imposed to uphold a grammar school, the whole economical interest was aroused to hinder any private individuals setting up classes which would draw away the profit from the public seminary. Even in country parishes, if a schoolmaster complained that a side school had been opened in the neighbourhood, elders were at once deputed "to warn the teacher to desist from the practice"; and any poor man in search of a living, or any old woman trying to combine the teaching of the alphabet with that of sewing and darning stockings to children, two or three miles from the parish school, was forbidden to "proceed."[1] Burghs were not less jealous and exclusive, and on intimation of any furtive attempt to open a private class the magistrates ordered that "the edict pass by tuck of drum, forbidding it under a fine of from £5 to £40 Scots and imprisonment, a yearly *toties quoties*." On every occasion when the monopoly of the parochial school seemed unduly encroached upon, the summons was issued "that no child above 6 or 7 be taught even music in any room, except parish and burgh schools." The most accomplished master of singing dare not ply his artistic craft in a town where any tuneless, earless, timeless dominie held office, "under fulzie of 100 merks for each quarter's contravention."[2] It was not until towards the end of the century that a less exclusive policy began to prevail, and even small grants were then given to private schools. This was, in fact, an economical politic course, seeing that with the growth of population more schools were becoming needful, and every adventure school conveniently saved the expense of erecting a public one at the community's charge.

[1] *Balmerino and its Abbey*, p. 239. Buchanan Kirk-Session in 1714, "considering how much the publick school is decayed, especially by reason of Jean Kilpatrick keeping a private school near the place, recommend the minister to go to the said Jean and discharge her teaching a school, and therewith certification that if she do not desist, they, with the schoolmaster, will apply to the judge ordinar." In 1715, reported that order had been given to the officer to signify to Jean Kilpatrick that she behoved to quit her school, except those who were learning to sew and work stockings, with certification if she did not, a more strick punishment would be for her."—P. 112, G. Smith's *Strathendrick*.

[2] Council of Montrose, p. 379; Grant's *Burgh Schools*.

Burgh schools, which had in former generations raised high the reputation for Latinity of Scotland, still continued their function of giving an education in Latin. After children had been at an English or "vulgar" school for two years, they at the age of nine passed into the grammar school, where they were plunged at once into classics, and during their four years' attendance gained an amount of classical knowledge to which ordinary university students to-day certainly do not attain; a proficiency was then regarded so sufficient that there were no professors of Humanity appointed or "considered necessary" in the universities at the beginning of the century. At the age of twelve or thirteen (sometimes even at eleven years old), many passed into the colleges where the lectures were delivered in Latin.[1] In the precincts of the grammar schools the boys were not allowed to speak a word except in Latin, either in their classes or in their private talk—a practice which gave them a familiarity with the tongue which served them well when they entered the universities, where the same rules were insisted upon.[2] In order to insure obedience to these regulations, certain scholars were chosen to act as spies or detectives, under the euphemistic and tautological title of "private clandestine captors," who were required to inform upon all their comrades

[1] Gibson's *History of Glasgow*, 1787, p. 193.—"A time of life at which they certainly are unfit to obtain an accurate knowledge of the Latin tongue," remarks a writer, speaking from his own experience. Nine was a common age for children to enter the Grammar School of Aberdeen in 1712 (*Burgh Records*): "none to enter earlier, unless they be of great capacity and *engyne*."—P. 342.

[2] The following enables us to see what were the curriculum and the books in use in old grammar schools up to the middle of the century. The schoolmaster of Glasgow, before the Commission of Parliament in 1690, states his system of education: According to the standard formula observed these 100 years and upwards he teacheth for the 1st year: Rudimenta Etymologiae, Wedderburni Vocabula, Dicta Sapientum e Graecis, Erasmo Rotterdamo interprete, Catonis Disticha, Lilii Monita Paedagoga, Sulpitius de Civilitate Morum; and on Saturdays Rudimenta Pietatis, with a review of Shorter Catechism with Scriptural proofs. 2nd year: First part of Despauter's Grammar with Corderius and Erasmi Majora Colloquia; and on Saturday Confessio Fidei Latinè. 3rd year: Second part of Despauter with Terentius, Ovid's Epistles, Tristia, Jonae Philologi Dialogi, Erasmus de Civilitate Morum; and on Saturdays Dialogi Sacri. 4th year: Review of second part of Grammar with the third, Ovid's Metamorphoses, Erasmi Minora Colloquia; and on Saturdays Buchanan's Psalms. 5th year: The fourth part of the Grammar, Virgil, Quintus Curtius, Horatius, Sallustius;

who might speak Scots—the culprit being *sub paena ferulae* for the first offence, and to be publicly whipped for the second.[1] In some places the duties of these spies—who rejoiced in the title of "*decurios*"—had the responsible functions of taking account if the scholars had prayed or read their due portion of Scripture; if their hands were "washen" and their heads combed, and if they had said their questions of the Shorter Catechism; to report if they spoke English, used oaths, or played dice.[2]

In these old schools there were many rival Latin grammars —for ambitious schoolmasters, each possessed with the notion that he had invented a system superior to all others, struggled for a monopoly of its use; most ancient and most venerated was Despauter's, which had been used since 1530 in Scotland, till, in 1717, Ruddiman's *Rudiments* appeared, and became a national text-book. That worthy scholar's biographer pronounced a panegyrical prophecy that "this work will transmit our grammarian's name with celebrity to every age so long as the Roman language shall be taught in Scotland." Not quite; but it did attain in use a respectable longevity of 150 years.[3]

V

By the middle of the century the hardships of the schoolmasters were becoming too grievous to be borne without strenous efforts being made to remedy their wrongs and relieve themselves from their almost abject poverty and degradation. In 1748 they framed a memorial, to be presented to the General Assembly and to Parliament, stating their "Reasons for augmenting the salaries and other incomes of the schoolmasters of Scotland." This document is really pathetic in spite of its opulent and grandiloquent style, and its florid,

on Saturday Buchanan's Psalms and Tragoidiae. Last year: Rhaetorica Vossii, Lucan, Commentaria Caesaris, Buchanani Historia Scotorum, "with a little insight into Greek."—*Munimenta Univ. Glas.* ii. p. 537. For curriculum in 1716 of Aberdeen Grammar School, see *Burgh Records*, p. 340.

[1] M'Dowall's *Dumfries*, p. 597.

[2] *Aberdeen Burgh Records*, p. 330.

[3] Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 63.

flowing periods, which touch one's sense of humour to the quick. We may smile at the ambitious rhetoric which announces to plain Members of Parliament that "children may be justly compared to rugged, useless blocks of marble; it is instruction which must hew them into shape and polish them into beauty." With some impatience the blunt Commissioners of Supply must have read the eloquent platitudes: "that knowledge, virtue, the noble subjects of education, lay the foundation of a glorious and happy life; they adorn human nature much and beautify the soul," and so on. "In fine," it concludes,[1] "upon education almost entirely it depends whether a man shall be good, wise, and happy, or wicked, ignorant, and unhappy." Thereupon the schoolmasters, with more truth than consistency, proceed to prove that in spite of all their own education they are themselves extremely unhappy.

They appealed to the General Assembly for its support; but the clergy were at that very time striving with equal non-success to get their own stipends augmented. They applied to "the landed interest" of the country; they petitioned Parliament. The movement died away in despair; the teachers were too poor to prosecute their cause, too uninfluential to gain attention to their wrongs. The "agitation" only agitated themselves. Yet their petition to Parliament was urgent enough, piteous enough, to touch the most obdurate heart that ever paid and grudged a rate. "It is certain," stated the petition, "that our present encouragement will not procure even the necessities of life to any person, though he should live at the lowest rate, being only at an average of about £11 sterling, or about 7d. a day, which is less than the lowest mechanic can earn.[2] This small pittance is to be collected from 100 different hands, which makes a sad deduction, as there will always be bad payers among the number."[3]

Growth of dissent had meanwhile seriously curtailed their humble earnings from other sources. Episcopalian chapels and

[1] *Scots Mag.* 1749; Morren's *Annals of Gen. Ass.* ii. 376-382.

[2] *Stat. Acct. Scot.*, Lintrathen.—"Schoolmaster's salary is 6 or 4 bolls of meal, to be collected from the tenants; while the hut he occupies is hardly fit for the meanest beggar," 1793.

[3] They urged that no private schools be allowed within three miles of parochial school.

Seceder meeting-houses kept private registers for baptisms and marriages, which involved the loss of that groat for every entry which had been a welcome addition to the impoverished teacher in his capacity of Session-Clerk. Meanwhile the cost of living had enormously increased, and had almost increased threefold in fifty years, while owing to the progress and improvement in cultivation the profits of the farmers had quadrupled, and the wages of every working man—ploughman and artisan—had increased in the same proportion.

It was not till 1782 that the oppressed schoolmasters renewed their attempts to obtain some mitigation of their lot. It was then that they drew up a memorial pleading that "ninety years have produced such a change and so great an improvement in agriculture, navigation, commerce, arts, and riches of the country, that £15 sterling per annum at the end of the last century may be considered a better income than £45 at the present time. Suppose, then, that in Scotland there are 900 parochial schoolmasters, which is near the truth: 800 of them will be found struggling with indigence, inferior in point of income to 800 day labourers in the best cultivated parts of the island, and receiving one-half of the emoluments of the menial servants of country gentlemen." In fact, their case was even worse than they represented it, for while the average income of schoolmasters was £13 a year, that of the artisan was from £14 to £16.[1]

At that time every rank and profession was recruited from lads who had got their Latin and their training in the parish schools; while the teachers, to whom they largely owed all their success, lived in hovels, and their families were clad in rags. In spite of all their powerful claims, the schoolmasters were obliged to wait till this century before they got a partial remedy for their distress. At last, in 1802, the long sought, long needed relief came, though by a most modest instalment. The Schoolmasters' Act was passed. After a quite superfluous preamble, stating that "the parish schoolmasters of Scotland are a most useful body of men and their labours have been of essential importance to the public welfare," it ordains that henceforth their incomes are not to

[1] *Stat. Account of Scotland*, 1792-4, xxi. 336-341.

be under 300 merks (£16 : 13 : 4), nor above 300 merks (£22 : 4 : 6); that they are to be provided by the heritors with a house not consisting of more than two apartments, and ground for a garden of not less than a quarter of a Scots acre." So ends not too brilliantly a dismal period of scholastic poverty; so begins in not too prodigal a scale of liberality the new era of educational history.

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND—THE UNIVERSITIES—THEIR LIFE AND LEARNING

I

THE social and ecclesiastical disquiet which had for generations prevailed in Scotland had fatally affected the academical life of the country. The reign of Episcopacy had kept out of posts of schoolmasters and professors the largest and most vigorous class of the people. Recruited as the chairs of universities had been chiefly from the undistinguished Episcopal ministers up to the Revolution, and after that, from equally uncultured Presbyterian ministers who had got a haphazard education at home or in Holland, to which they had taken flight, the seats of learning were long empty of learning, and the centres of the highest national education could boast of little philosophy and of less science. When, after the re-establishment of Presbytery, the professors then occupying posts in colleges were required to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, and to subscribe the Confession of Faith, many refused, and were thereupon ousted from their chairs. The difficulty now arose of finding successors to the Principals and Regents who were deprived of their offices, and to the old teachers as they died off.[1] The new order of clergy from whom professors were drawn, in their fugitive and impoverished lives, had had no

[1] In St. Andrews all but three were deprived ; in Edinburgh five were forced to quit ; in Glasgow all but three complied with the oath ; and, strange to say, in Aberdeen, a city which had Jacobite and Episcopal leanings, all the professors except one and both principals cautiously conformed.—Grub's *Eccles. Hist. of Scotland*, iii. 319-22.

opportunity to prosecute quiet and laborious study; they had no money to buy books, no leisure to read them, and in truth, from the fervour of their piety, had little zest for culture in pagan letters and the profane babbling of earthly philosophy. In despair Principal Carstares even formed a scheme for importing Dutchmen from their famous universities to teach in Scots colleges.[1]

It was only gradually, when the young men flocked after the Revolution to universities, chiefly with a view to entering the Church, that there arose a class of men to draw from for teachers; but from 1690 to about 1725 there was a dreary stagnation of all intellectual life and destitution of scholarship in Scotland.[2]

The course of instruction was conducted by regents,—teachers each of whom carried his class through a three or four years' curriculum, till it reached the stage of laureation. During that period each regent taught his students, in successive years, Greek, ethics, pneumatics, logic, mathematics,[3] and physics, a strange medley of subjects which could not fairly or competently be taught by any one man. It is true that under this system, called the "ambulatory" or "rotatory," each master had the estimable advantage of being thoroughly acquainted with all the pupils under his eye; but it is equally true that he had the unfortunate disadvantage of being thoroughly acquainted with none of the subjects under his charge. It is not surprising, therefore, that wherever this preposterous arrangement existed, there was hardly one man who made himself distinguished in any branch of philosophy, or made any real contribution to learning or to science.[4] Absurd as was this method of each regent

[1] Calamy's *Own Life*, i. 172.

[2] *Report of University Commission*, p. 221.

[3] Though mathematics had, since 1692, a special professor, it formed no part of the course for degrees or for the Church.—Grant's *Edin. Univ.* ii. 298.

[4] An exception to the prevailing absence of scientific attainment occurs in the distinguished cases of James Gregory and his nephew David Gregory. James Gregory, who had mounted the reflecting telescope at the age of twenty-two, was transferred from St. Andrews to the professorship of mathematics in Edinburgh in 1674, dying the next year after being struck with blindness in showing his students the satellites of Jupiter through a telescope. In 1684 David Gregory succeeded to the post at the age of twenty-two with a salary of

lecturing on a multiplicity of incongruous subjects, instead of each subject being treated by one man who had made it his special study, it was not abandoned without reluctance. Although through the influence of the ever-sagacious Principal Carstares, who was anxious to form Scots colleges on Dutch models, the system was given up in Edinburgh in 1708, it continued till 1727 in Glasgow, in St. Andrews till 1747, and in Aberdeen, though it was abolished at Marischal College in 1757, it was retained in King's College till the end of the century.[1]

The appointments to the chairs at the universities in the early part of the eighteenth century were made in the olden manner after public competition. In 1690 it was ordained by Scots Parliament that whenever a post fell vacant a "program" was to be affixed "to the avenues of the city and other colleges in the kingdom, inviting qualified persons to test themselves on a certain day to appear in public dispute on any problematical subjects which were proposed." Then in the hall, before principal and regents, the various candidates, who had been assigned their subjects by lot, debated on successive days in Latin on some chosen subject, testing at once their fluency and their skill.[2] Thereafter they were examined in Greek and philosophy; in a manner, however, which could not search the erudition of any scholar very profoundly; and the successful competitor was appointed regent, and expected to teach a variety of branches of knowledge which needed the versatility of an Admirable Crichton. Such were the ways in the early part of the century.

In the curriculum of the universities at that period there was one remarkable omission, and that was Latin. That language was not taught amid the miscellaneous matters

£1000 Scots, and has the credit of having been the first to give public lectures on the Newtonian philosophy—thirty-five years before that system was adopted in public instruction at Cambridge. He became professor of Astronomy at Oxford in 1692. The Gregorys, however, had not been "ambulatory" regents.

[1] Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, ii. 291.

[2] At Edinburgh, in 1700, the subjects of debate were *De motu, De brutorum perceptione, etc.*—Bower, ii. 6. In Glasgow subjects for competition disputes were *Quodnam sit criterion veritatis* and *Quod sit causa variorum colorum in corporibus naturalibus.*—*Munimenta Universitatis Glasguensis*, ii. 413.

on which regents prelected. It was left virtually to the schools, the masters of which were considered perfectly qualified to train their pupils in that learned tongue and grammar. Indeed, there was displayed a painful jealousy by the burgh schools lest colleges should encroach on this their special function; a jealousy which universities were careful to respect. When, therefore, a student entered the university he used only to pass a slight entrance examination in Latin, and was then enrolled as a student in philosophy.

This division of labour between the higher and lower seminaries did not, however, always proceed from punctilious courtesy; it partly arose from the chronic state of poverty under which colleges lay, which forced professors to subsist on mean pittances. In a sanguine moment Glasgow had in 1683 agreed to allow a professor of Humanity a salary of £20, and thereupon a teacher was appointed for a term of five years. Unfortunately, the Faculty soon discovered that they had no funds wherewith to carry out the bargain—"the whole rents and revenues being super-expendit"—and, crestfallen, they record that they must suspend the class until they had means of maintaining it.[1] Not till 1704, twenty-one years later, did that prosperous period arrive, and then "Mr. A. Ross, a student, having offered himself," was inducted to the professorship of Humanity with a stipend of £300 Scots (£20 sterling) "after he had given a tryall of his skill in the Latin tongue," as evidenced by his producing in three days a translation into English of Tiberius' letter in the third book of the *Annals of Tacitus*, and a translation into Latin of Lord Loudon's speech to the king as contained in Rushworth's *Collection*.[2] Here again, as far as possible, the most punctilious care is taken not to hurt the interests of parish teachers, for the new regent is forbidden to teach the grammar "lest it should prejudice" the burgh schools. Even long after a special professorship of Latin was in 1708[3] erected in Edinburgh, it was usual for students to prosecute their studies and take their degree without ever

[1] *Munim. Univ. Glasg.*, ii. 347, 387.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 396.

[3] Previous to this a professor had taught Latin, but he was merely a tutor preparing entrants for the Bajan or first philosophy class, and no student was obliged to attend his class.—Grant's *Edinburgh University*, i. 216.

entering a Latin class. The lad merely passed an easy examination in the language, and then entered in the first or Bajan year of his course, never to study it at all.[1] It is true that the text-books were often in Latin, that the philosophical lectures were based on classic and mediæval writers, that the lectures were delivered in the learned tongue; all which served to tax a boy's scholarship if he had any, or left him more ignorant than before if he had none.

Almost as badly did it fare with Greek in the first half of the century. Not taught from any special chair, it was long merely one of the multifarious subjects taught by a regent whose course included pneumatics and logic, natural philosophy and astronomy. In the beginning of the century it did become evident to the more intelligent men interested in scholarship that dead languages might as well be buried as be taught on such a perfunctory system, and at Glasgow a separate chair for teaching Greek was formed in 1704—in this case without the ordeal of a public dispute and public competition, the candidate "having given a tryall of his skill in an analysis of Homer's *Iliad*, Book viii., from line 171 to 181," which token of his scholarship amply satisfied and convinced his not-too-exacting judges.[2] In 1708, when the regenting system was abolished in Edinburgh, one professor, of course, took separate charge of Greek, while in recognition of scholarship, another was appointed to teach Latin—with what imperfect results we shall see.

Never distinguished for its attainment in Greek scholarship, though once famous for its Latinity, Scotland had sunk to perhaps its lowest ebb in the early part of the eighteenth century, and this depression was increased by the spirit of monopoly which makes trade jealous of trade, that had even entered the more cultured scholastic craft. We have seen how schoolmasters opposed the teaching of Latin in colleges lest it should diminish their own pupils and fees. With equal exactitude, and for the same commercial reasons, professors

[1] In 1756 the Latin class was thinly attended, more than half of the students began their course with Greek, and many with the logic class.—Somerville's *Own Life and Times*, p. 12; Carlyle's *Autobiography*, 43.

[2] *Munim.*, ii. 396.

in their turn opposed schoolmasters giving lessons in Greek.[1] Old enactments had given force to this jealous regard of universities for their own interests, forbidding burgh or grammar schools or private persons teaching Greek or logic within their walls. It is true some ignored these laws and absurd prohibitions, and occasionally a master imparted to his pupils, sons of lairds and farmers, far more Greek at school than ever they got at college; though the High School of Glasgow only professed to give "a little insight into Greek." But professors were forced to spend months with their pupils whose ignorance their own rules had enforced, going over the alphabet and veriest rudiments, or in reading with them some Latin author, till they knew enough Greek to try to translate the simplest author.[2] The only lads who really did come up to college with a little smattering of knowledge, after a trifling examination in the language, were allowed to escape altogether the class of the professor of Greek, or the year during which the regent taught that tongue, and under the title of "super-venientes" pass at once over the Bajan or lowest class into the "Semi," or philosophical. In this way they were able to save a year's study, and a year's fees, and to evade Greek for a lifetime. In 1691 Thomas Boston[3] came up as a lad from his poor cottage at Duns to Edinburgh, and there he was tried by the regent in the Greek New Testament, and then entered the "Semi" class, or second year, to hear no more of Greek literature except its Aristotelian logic. Even past the middle of the

[1] In 1772 Principal Robertson and the senators of Edinburgh University protested to the Town Council against Dr. Adam, Rector of the High School, opening a class for teaching the elements of the Greek language, urging that the school should continue to be a Latin school. The Town Council declined to interfere.—Bower's *Hist. of Edin. Univ.* ii.; Grant's *Edinburgh University*, i. 208, 266. Logic and Greek were made a monopoly of the colleges in 1645, and in 1672 Lords of Privy Council prohibit all persons not publicly authorised to gather together any number of scholars and to teach them philosophy or Greek language, "because the practice, besides being contrary to the laws, tends to the prejudice of universities by rendering some of the professors therein altogether useless."

[2] Bower's *Edin. Univ.* ii. 232. In 1760 Professor Hill, at St. Andrews, spends much time in teaching the Greek letters and parts of speech.—Cook's *Life of Principal Hill*, p. 62; Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen.*

[3] Boston's *Memoirs*, p. 16; Carlyle's *Autobiography*, p. 43.

century any student who knew sufficient to satisfy his lenient examiners passed over the classic tongues and began at once the study of philosophy.[1] What made this practice all the more absurd was the fact that the great bulk of the students were mere boys. They were usually from thirteen to fifteen years of age—some only eleven—and were thrust into philosophy when they hardly knew the meaning of the word, and took their degree of M.A. at sixteen before they had begun to think.[2]

To make the difficulty of learning as great as possible, and as if to make the whole system as useless as possible, the instruction was imparted in Latin. Many a poor boy who had in a village school just scraped enough of knowledge to make him ambitious, and whose father had scraped enough of meal or money to keep him in food, came to the college and heard everything said in what was an unknown tongue; in it the professor prayed, lectured, examined; in that language boys barely acquainted with their own tongue were expected to repeat ponderously inept Aristotelian definitions, and to remember professorial prolixities on Grotius and Puffendorf. Their minds were strained by disquisitions they could not follow, crammed with terminology no dictionary could explain, and full of technical phrases no classic author had ever used.

The practice of lecturing in Latin was retained, in spite of its manifest uselessness, till far into the century in many classes; and as a rule the duller and more pedantic the professor was, the more antiquated his text-books and doctrines were, the more tenaciously he kept to this time-honoured custom; and he still slowly dictated in Latin his dreary sentences for pupils to copy down during his "colleges," as the lectures were called.[3] The first professor in Scotland to

[1] *Scots Magazine*, 1826; Bower's *Edin. University*, ii. 72.

[2] Colin Maclaurin, the famous mathematician, entered college at eleven years old, graduated at fifteen, and became professor at nineteen. David Hume and Principal Robertson were only twelve, and Principal Hill was only eleven on entering college.

[3] So in *Caledonian Mercury*, Oct. 1736, the advertisement appears, "Dr. John Pringle, professor of *Ethicks and Pneumaticks*, begins his college on *Puffendorf de officio hominis et civis* with the usual supplement from Lord Bacon of the *Doctrina Civilis*, etc., on Thursday, the 4th of Nov. 1736."

break away from the old practice was the ever independent Professor Hutcheson of Glasgow, in 1727, who found the flow of his periods fettered by crabbed Latinity and tedious dictated sentences. Others gradually and timidly followed his example, but very slowly, not entirely because the old way was a pleasure to the teacher or a benefit to the student, but lest his abandoning the classic tongue for his broad Scots might maliciously be ascribed to his incapacity to speak it.[1] This, in fact, was ill-naturedly hinted regarding the learned Dr. Cullen, when in his medical school he began to lecture in English—the first physician to do so; although he retained the Latin in teaching botany. Even in the middle of the century Edinburgh professors of philosophy, law, and divinity persisted in their lumbering Latin to somnolent students, till finally they acquired enough good sense and moral courage to discourse in the vernacular, in all chairs, except the conservative divinity.[2]

II

The students were drawn from every class—from noblemen and farmers, from ministers, lairds, schoolmasters, and mechanics, and from the hard-working tenants of Ulster, whose sons formed a large contingent of the number—the "stupid Irish league," as Professor Reid long after termed the band which in 1760 formed a third of the Glasgow students.[3] The great majority of the lads were extremely poor, and lived in mean garrets in the wynds;[4] some were so badly off that

[1] Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, i. 28.

[2] Relics of the old custom of Latin speaking in the class are found in the *adsum* with which the students still answer the calling of the roll, and the Latin form of Christian names in matriculation books. "I attended the class for Church history in St. Andrews during three years [about 1776], and never heard the professor in his public character speak one word of English all that time. One of the other professors of divinity also lectures in Latin; the third professor discourses in English."—Hall's *Travels*, p. 604; 1803.

[3] Reid's *Works* (Hamilton's edition), p. 40. In 1760 Professor Reid writes from Glasgow, "Near a third of our students are Irish. Thirty came over lately in one vessel. We have a good many English and some foreigners; many of the Irish as well as Scotch are poor, and come up late to save money." Half of the students who took degrees in Glasgow are entered "Scoto-Hibernicus."

[4] Such entries as the following from Kirk-Session records are not rare in the

old Kirk-Session records mention little doles of a few pence given to lads to help them on their way as they travelled to college. When they went to their classes in October they often took with them a supply of oat and barley meal, which with occasional supplies from home, lasted by careful stinting till the Session was over in May. In consideration of the common neediness of students, there was an ancient privilege —at any rate in Glasgow—that meal intended for their use should be exempt from the town customs exacted from all provisions sold in the market by the official who was called the "ladleman,"—from the tax having been one ladleful taken out of every sack. When the kindly rule had been broken, to the detriment of the poor students, the University of Glasgow deputed Dr. Adam Smith to demand[1] continuance of the ancient privilege from the Town Council, who agreed to refund the exactions of the ladler. So dependent was a large proportion, unless they got a bursary, on the small earnings of their fathers, who stinted themselves and their family to maintain a son at college, that after an exceptionally bad harvest Professor Adam Ferguson found his philosophy class diminished by one-half.[2] How frugally they lived we can see from Mr. Thomas Boston's description of his student days in Edinburgh during three years: "Thus a holy, wise providence," says this pious divine, "ordered my education at the college that the charges thereof amounted in all to but £128 : 15 : 8 Scots (£11 : 18 : 8 sterling), of which I had twenty merks as aforesaid to pay afterwards [for laureation]. Out of this sum was paid the regent's fees yearly and the college dues, and also my maintenance was furnished out of it. By means thereof I had a competent understanding of the logics, metaphysics, ethics, and general physics—always taking pains of

early part of the century: "To the blind student that hath the Irish [Gaelic] tongue"; "to the scholar at St. College"—each of whom are awarded a few pence.—Campbell's *Balmerino and its Abbey*, p. 234.

[1] Rae's *Life of Adam Smith*, p. 67.

[2] Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*. In their poverty the one great difficulty must have been for students to buy books for their classes and for study, for they got no help from the college library—at any rate in Edinburgh, where no book was lent out. Up till 1730 they were chained and padlocked to their shelves, and even when loosened from chains they were not set free for students.—Bower, ii. 39; Boston's *Memoirs*, p. 15.

what was before me and pleasing the regent." It is true that the author of *The Fourfold State of Man* had half-starved himself, and put himself into ill-health and moodiness which affected his most depressing theology. Many another lad starved his body to feed his mind, with pertinacious industry, clad in threadbare hodden gray, too poor to buy candles, and studying by the fire-light, in the unfurnished garret.[1] But in the first half of the century even rich students could live cheaply, boarding for £10 a year[2] in Edinburgh; and as bursaries were to be got, and the fee to the one regent they attended was only one guinea, or 15s. a year, education for any learned profession was brought within the reach of the poorest lads who had brains or energy.

The practice of living in chambers in the colleges was much encouraged by the universities, as conducing to the moral and religious nurture of youth. Several chambers had been erected in the main quadrangle of the Edinburgh University for the accommodation of students; and in the beginning of the century several of these were still occupied; in Glasgow many lived in college precincts; and St. Andrews and King's College, Aberdeen, long continued to be the residence of a large number. To suit the finances of different classes, there were the first table and the second—at the former the wealthier lads paid £2 : 15s., or £2 per quarter for their food —of which oatmeal, broth, and ale formed a large proportion —and at this common table the principal and regents sat.

[1] Preface to G. M. Berkeley's *Poems*, 1797.

[2] Expenses of a student at St. Salvador's College, St. Andrews, in 1684 :—

"If he be a primner the expense as followeth :

Imp. for his own tabell and his servant's quarterlie .	£60 (Scots.)
It. for his bed if he be alone	£3
It. for dressing his chamber, and making his bed . .	£3
It. once in the year to porter	£1 : 4
It. once in the year to him that cleanzeth colledge .	£1 : 4
It. once in the year to the college cook if he tabell at college	£1 : 4
It. to his regent 5 or 6 dolours.	
If he be a seconder :	
Imp. for his own tabell and servant's quarterlie . .	£51 : 6 : 4
It. to his regent 3 or 4 dolours.	
It. to his bed	£3

To dressing his chamber, porter, cooke, cleaner, 12s. each."

Scottish Antiquary, xi. p. 19.

They were also put into occupation of a chamber furnished with bedstead and grate at a charge from 20s. to 7s. for the session.[1] Even in 1774 Dr. Johnson was told at St. Andrews that a young man could get board and education for seven months for £15 if he lived in the best style, or for £10 if he desired more economy.[2] Yet even that smaller scale we can see was far beyond the resources of a large mass of poor students, who could subsist most frugally on oatmeal, and, in later years, on herrings, with potatoes, when these came into use.

Once established in their college chambers, the students came under the vigilant care and custody of the regents,[3] each of whom took his week's turn of superintendence, with the title of Hebdomadar, visiting each room at five in the morning and at nine in the evening to see if they were behaving themselves properly, neither over-sleeping in the morning, nor dicing or playing cards at night. At 6 A.M. all were summoned by the bell, and appeared in the common hall to answer to their names, and after prayers and religious instruction they proceeded to their several class-rooms. The pietistic character of the period pervaded the colleges as well as the Church, and forced religion on scholars till it begot hypocrisy, cant, or weariness. What else could be the result of an ordinance establishing intolerable inquisition like this: "Students are obliged to be diligent in praying to God, reading in their chambers morning and evening, and to ensure obedience cubicular censors are appointed to keep watch, and the regents are enjoined to notice how they perform the private duties of prayer and reading as well as in their questions."[4]

It is not surprising that rules and espionage like this did

[1] In St. Andrews, up to the union of colleges, the greater part of the students lodged in chambers inside the college walls; all gates were shut at 10 o'clock A.M., and none could get out or come in till 6 in the morning. Professors took weekly their post as hebdomadar, and presided at the table and visited each chamber at 6 A.M. and 8 or 9 P.M. These perlustrations were given up soon after the union of colleges. Originally the students dined at 12 with supper at 6, afterwards at 1 or 2, and supper at 7 or 8 o'clock. The common table was kept up till 1820.—Hall's *Travels*, i. 114; Lyon's *St. Andrews*, ii. 184.

[2] Johnson's *Journey to Western Islands*, 1791, p. 12.

[3] *Munimenta Univ. Glasg.*, ii. 489.

[4] In 1693, *ibid.* ii. 369.

not render residence in college precincts extremely attractive. There is no wonder that there arose murmurs from academic Faculties that "so many students do lye out at college";[1] and no wonder, that in spite of all efforts to foster the old system, the chambers adjoining the Edinburgh College surrounded by its ruinous wall were almost deserted of their intended occupants by 1733,[2] and put to other purposes. Some were used as class-rooms; others were occupied at a rent of £1 by a miscellaneous population—clerks, coal-sellers, printers, and booksellers. Professor Reid, who believed greatly in this living in college precincts, and greatly rejoiced when after its decay it was revived in King's College, in 1755 wrote enthusiastically to his friend the laird of Newton: "We need but look out of our windows to see them rise and when they go to bed. They are seen nine or ten times the day statedly by one or other of the masters, at publick prayers, school hours, meals, and in their rooms, besides occasional visits which we can make with little trouble to ourselves. They are shut within college walls at nine at night."[3] Unfortunately, all these rules, so comforting to anxious parents, were most uncomfortable to their sons, who preferred private and independent lodgings free from the incessant surveillance of the college; and only about forty or fifty students dined at common table[4] when the system was revived; a number which lessened, till the old-new system died out of inanition in Aberdeen; though it was retained in St. Andrews with more success.

The restraints which ordinary students in the early part of the century had to endure were quite sufficient without the "prelustrations" of regents morning and night to their rooms. Throughout the session—lasting from the 1st of October to the end of May—the classes began in Edinburgh at seven o'clock,

[1] *Munimenta Univ. Glasg.* ii. 519.

[2] In Edinburgh few resided in college at the beginning of the century partly from lack of accommodation, chiefly from lack of inclination.—Calamy's *Own Life.*

[3] Dunbar's *Social Life in Morayshire*, p. 6. "The board is at the first table 50 merks per quarter, and at the second 40. The rent is from 7s. to 20s. in the session, no furniture but bedstead, table, grate—feather-bed, bed-cloaths, chairs, tongs, bed-hangings must be bought or hired. Students provide their own candles, fire, washing, pay 2 guineas to the master; to professors of Greek and Humanity for publick teaching, 5s. each."—P. 8.

[4] Kennedy's *Annals*, ii. 391.

and in other universities at six. The students assembled in the dark lecture rooms, dimly lighted by the smoky tallow candles, and ill-heated by the newly kindled fires in bitter winter mornings. Before a class began its work the students took their turn to open the class with a prayer—a performance that proved so little conducive to edification that the Glasgow Faculty in 1702 [1] timidly suggested that when convenient this practice might be discontinued. In the college yards the lads were carefully watched in their conversation; "for all who profane God's name or vent horrid oaths or nasty words" were to "pay for the first offence 6d. Scots (1d. sterling), and thereafter to be severely chastened." [2] They were, further, obliged to speak Latin in their private intercourse in college grounds, and when in 1706 rumours arose that, contrary to orders, "the students do all speak English," the Senate of Glasgow at once enjoined that "each regent shall appoynt a clandestine censor to observe that all without exception be summoned who are found guilty"—the fine for this crime being 1d. for the first offence, and 2d. for the second, and this sum, small as it now seems, would be hard on poor students to find.[3] So far from Sunday bringing any rest and relaxation to the youths, it brought more burdens grievous to be borne. On the Sabbath morning all assembled in their respective class-rooms, and after religious exercises, clad in their scarlet gowns, they followed the principal and professors to kirk both morning and afternoon. At four o'clock the college bell was rung, and they again appeared in their several class-rooms, where they were examined regarding the discourses they had heard and the portion of theology which had been prescribed for study; they were next questioned on the Catechism, and listened to an exposition of the Confession of Faith.[4] Thereafter they were allowed to return, weary and

[1] *Munimenta Glas.* ii. 375.

[2] Rules drawn up by Principal Carstares in 1704.—Bower, ii. 49; Dalziel's *Edin. University*, ii. 275.

[3] *Munim. Glas.* ii. 390; Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, ii. 92.

[4] *Munimenta*, ii. 378-529; Kennedy's *Aberdeen*, ii. 391. In Edinburgh the Sabbath surveillance was not so complete as in the western city; but students in 1704 were summoned to their class-rooms "after sermon" to be examined in sacred subjects.—Dalziel's *Edin. University*.

worn out, to their respective lodgings, their homes, or their college chambers, whence, except to hear a lecture in the college kirk from a professor, they dared not emerge; for to "vague" in the street or garden entailed a rebuke and incurred a fine. Even in church they sat under vigilant inspection of the regent's eye, and what they put into the plate or ladle was sharply noted, and reported by the watchful elders. It is with great grief that the professors record in the University records of 1703 that the contributions from the students are small; and the regents are therefore directed that each Saturday the collection shall be taken in the class-room, under their very eyes, and thereafter handed to the Glasgow Kirk-Session. Sadly enough, a later minute records that such precautions had brought unexpected and irresistible temptation to the student to whom the collecting had been entrusted, and that "he had requisitioned it"—by which euphemistic phrase a vulgar theft attains an almost academic dignity.[1]

In process of time these strait-laced rules gave way under the strain. The stern providence over undergraduates was relaxed in less pious and more tolerant days; although far on in the century the scholars were required to attend the College Church in Glasgow, and their ways, their speech, and their morals were carefully watched, guarded, and chastened.[2] But the whole method in which piety was forced by pedagogic insistence recalls the manner of the formidable Dr. Keate, of Eton, who, meeting a pupil, asked menacingly what book he

[1] *Munimenta Glas.* ii. 379.

[2] When many old ways had been abandoned, professors still continued to examine the lads in the evening on the sermons they had heard and "to speak with them on religious subjects." This was the practice of Hutcheson, professor of moral philosophy, and Professor Dunlop of the Greek chair.—Ramsay's *Scot. and Scots.* i. 277. In an unpublished letter to Adam Smith, Professor Joseph Black in 1764 writes: "Need I tell you of the Reformation that has been made in our devotions since you left us; how some of the Irish students remonstrated to the Faculty that there was not room for them in the College church, etc., and proposed that the College should have a private chappel of their own; how this proposal was long considered, and at last agreed to, and put in practice; how the college loft has been set by roup at the extravagant rate of 6 or 7 to 9 shillings for every sitter; how the College has already met two Sundays in the back hall, and have sung their psalms most melodiously with the help of a pitch-fork, which occasions much deliberation among the godly."

carried under his arm. The trembling lad said that it was only a Bible, and was dismissed with the persuasive words of his master, "Read your Bible, boy, or I shall flog you."

III

Having paid his fees, which amounted to three or four dollars, to the one regent whose class he had to attend, a lad began his work—"dollars" being a coin in those days of scarcity in native currency which could be more easily found. Of the three or four years of the curriculum for degree of arts, the first class in which Greek was taught by the regent was called the Bajan —an academic term from the epithet *bejanus* used at Paris University, from *becjaune* (that is, "yellow beak"),[1] to designate those who entered their career in callow youth. (In graphic, if vulgar translation of the term these first year's students were popularly called "yellow-nebs.")[2] In the second class, or "semi,"—to which, as we have seen, students might at once pass by skipping Greek and Latin,—they entered on logic and metaphysics, and in the third year, or magistrand class, they were taught ethics and natural philosophy by the regent, who carried them on to laureation. The regent, ill paid and anxious to add to his meagre gains, took care to get as many students as possible to take their degree, for each graduate brought a welcome guinea as fee to replenish his empty coffers. When regenting, however, was abolished, and each professor no longer carried on his flock of pupils year by year to the end, he had no pecuniary interest in laureation, and the number of graduates sank in some colleges to zero, and scholars chose or attended what classes they or their fathers pleased.[3]

[1] It was otherwise but less successfully derived from *bas gens*, as being the lowest regent's class.—P. 14. Chamberlayne's *Present State of Great Britain*, 1754. Principal Lee as unsuccessfully and confidently derives the word from *pagani*, or rustics, uncultured and uncivilised by arts.

[2] Equivalent to the German *Gelbschnabel*.

[3] The Town Council offered to relieve poor students of their graduation fees —an offer which was resented. In 1704 there were 65 graduates, in 1705, 104; in 1745 the numbers had gone down to 3, and after that they vanish.—*Catalogue of Edinburgh Graduates*. On later rules required by universities for graduation, and by the Church for ministers.—See Grant's *Edin. University*, i. 278-282.

We have seen with what discouragement classic learning had to contend—Latin, which none required to study, Greek, which the better educated lads passed over as superfluous, and which only ignorant boys entered to learn their alphabet. The only classes which were then imperative for entering any learned profession, or to take a degree, were logic (with metaphysics) and natural philosophy. Up to about 1740 the teaching in the former was usually of the mediæval type—scholasticism which made Aristotle and peripatetic philosophy almost the sole study.[1] It was arid, it was dull, it was useless; dealing in scholastic subtleties and formal definitions, which being delivered in Latin were the less intelligible to the group of lads that sat on their benches, with their note-books, pens, and ink bottles, trying to catch from the professor's discourses a glimmer of intellectual light. With the instruction of philosophy was conjoined "pneumatics,"[2] a term which meant such questions of high reason as, "the being and perfections of the true God, the nature of angels and the soul of man, and the duties of natural religion,"—themes which after being treated of by the professor of moral philosophy were, in the middle of the century, abandoned to the teachers of divinity. In olden days natural philosophy implied teaching the *Physics* of Aristotle and the *Spheres* of Joannes de Sacrobosco, conjoined strangely with ethics, founded on obsolete scholastic but orthodox authorities;[3] but now Newton reigned supreme.

By the year 1730 came some signs of a revival of philosophy and science; there was a shaking of the dry bones of mediævalism. In Glasgow, since 1727, Professor Francis Hutcheson had thrust aside the old, worn-out methods, text-

[1] *Stat. Acct. Scot.*, Aberdeen, Marischal College.

[2] This subject of pneumatics Dr. Pringle (afterwards Sir John) was enjoined to teach on his appointment in 1736 to the chair of moral philosophy in Edinburgh—with a salary of about £70—but without fees, as it was not required by students for degrees or the Church.—Grant's *Edin. Univers.* ii. 336.

[3] Orthodoxy was necessary for every class text-book. In 1696, commissioners state that they know no proper philosophical text-book to use. The *Philosophia vetus et nova* is the "fairest," but "it is done by popish writers, and smells rank of their religion." "Le Clerc is meerely scepticall and Socinian," and "Henry Moor's Ethicks cannot be admitted being grossly Armenian in his opinione de libero arbitrio." Descartes and "all his gang" are discarded.—*Munimenta Univ. Glas.* ii. 531.

books, and doctrines; into moral philosophy he put new life and gave fresh interest, and although his own theory of the moral sense was not convincing, his lectures stirred new thought, had immense influence in modifying and softening the harsh theology of the country, and so vigorously stimulated philosophical study that the distinguished Irishman may be styled the "father of Scottish philosophy." Even before Oxford and Cambridge had awakened from stagnation, from "port wine, and prejudice," Scottish colleges had begun to show intellectual life in spite of their poverty. Antiquated systems died out. The Aristotelianism and the scholasticism of Ramus, which had turned logic and metaphysics into empty futilities and endless abstractions that meant little and taught nothing, disappeared, and Bacon, Locke, and even Puffendorf and De Vries, were welcome text-men for the students in their stead. Natural philosophy had a distinguished exponent in Colin Maclaurin in Edinburgh, and geometry in Robert Simson in Glasgow, in the first half of the century; and in course of time in every department—especially in philosophy, science, medicine—the universities were abreast or in advance of their age, under Joseph Black, the Munros, the Gregorys, Cullen, Adam Smith, Blair, Ferguson, Moor, and Reid; more chairs were erected, new subjects were taught, and old incongruous labours were divided.[1]

IV

While general education in scholarship, philosophy, and science was being gradually built up and slowly improved in the universities, the training for special professions—law, divinity, and medicine—had much need of passing through reforming processes; law and medicine especially having been left out of academic teaching altogether.

[1] "Happening once in conversation with Gaubius at Leyden to mention the College of Edinburgh, he began by complaining that all the English students who formerly came to his university went entirely there. . . . He concluded by asking if the professors of Edinburgh were rich? I replied, that the salary of a professor there seldom amounted to more than thirty pounds a year. 'Poor men,' said he, 'I heartily wish they were better provided for; until they are rich we can have no expectation of English students at Leyden.'"—*Present State of Polite Learning*, Goldsmith's *Works* (Cunningham's edit.) ii. 40.

A young man who, in the early part of the century, desired to study for the bar, took lodgings in a flat in one of the many wynds of Edinburgh, and likely he paid, as boarders did to the learned grammarian, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, about thirty shillings for his chambers during half a year.[1] He next probably joined a class of pupils who were instructed in the mysteries of Roman and feudal law by an advocate who had convened his little audience in an ill-lighted little room in his dwelling-house up four "pair" of stairs, where he prelected on the Dutch text-books he had learned in Holland.[2] Young gentlemen, if they did not care to receive instruction in this manner, could attach themselves to an advocate in good practice, who employed them in his house in arranging processes,—which a solicitor now does in the form of a brief,—and allowed them the privilege of attending consultations with his agent in a gloomy little apartment of a tavern situated in an unsalubrious close. There advocate and writer sat at a table over a chopin of claret or sherry for consideration of a case, while the pupils listened to the legal discussion of their seniors and almost certainly shared their drink. In this haphazard way the aspirant for the bar attained his insight into Scots law. By 1710 a Mr. Craig was allowed a room at the College, and he began lecturing as professor of civil law to a few young men, without any salary, and twelve years later another professor was given a room wherein he prelected on Scots law, discoursing like his colleague in Latin on the inevitable text-books of Van Eck, of Van Muyden, of Voet, who were the authorities for generations of legal teachers to cite, while the Pandects formed their perpetual subject for exposition.[3]

But ambitious natures could not be satisfied with this shabby equipment in legal lore, and as the Edinburgh experts servilely repeated what they had learned at Groningen or Utrecht when they were young, it was thither that students resorted to study for themselves at the fountainhead. The benches in these sombre, venerable buildings contained youths of many nationalities, besides the stolid sons of Holland; and

[1] Chalmers' *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 39.
[2] Tytler's *Life of Lord Kames*, i. 14.
[3] Grant's *Story of Edinburgh University*, i. 288; ii. 364.

as Dutch law and Scots were both based on Roman law, Scotsmen specially turned to their profound masters of jurisprudence. After two or three years listening to lectures on the Pandects and on law, Roman and feudal, they came home, and after an examination and a learned thesis, carefully revised, if not entirely written, by that erudite scholar-of-all-work, Thomas Ruddiman, for a small fee, they passed for the Bar.[1] Well furnished with venerable names of jurisconsults, when judges, after the manner of the time, interjected, during their pleading, remarks of sophistical irrelevancy, and cited opinions from Bartolis and Accursius—jurists enclosed in their Italian graves four hundred years—the foreign-bred advocate could cap their lordships' remarks with references to the great Cajacius, or to the quite modern authority of Zoesius, dead only a century before.

In this way able lawyers were trained. As for the triflers at the Bar, they had gone abroad only pretending to study, and returned with vivid memories of Dutch faces—chiefly feminine—and of delightful suppers in Leyden or Groningen on red herring and salad;[2] but with the dimmest of dim recollections of what the professors had said or what their Latin discourses had meant. By 1722 there were two professors descanting on law in Edinburgh College; but as they were only echoes of Dutchmen, young men of family—and advocates then were mostly sons of good birth—still continued to seek sound learning abroad. This fashion, however, had died out when in 1763 James Boswell set out for Utrecht, escorted to Harwich by his illustrious friend and mentor Dr. Johnson. To study law under the eminent Professor Trottz was only "Bozzy's" pretext; to see the world and let the world see him was his real intention. Good masters of law and practice were teaching in Edinburgh University then, and there was no need to sail to Holland.

Progress was made in instruction for other professions—we reserve that for medicine for separate notice—but divinity long continued with unbroken sameness and exasperating dulness. It is true there sat some men liberal and able in theological chairs

[1] Tytler's *Life of Kames*, i. 14.
[2] Carlyle's *Autobiography*, p. 167.

—like Simson and the far worthier Principal Leechman in Glasgow, and Dr. Arch. Campbell of St. Andrews, each of whom in turn had been libelled for heresy, as well as scholarly men who gave no offence. Yet the prevailing teaching was drawn from time-honoured, dull Dutch text-books from one generation to another—Marckius, Wendelinus, Witsius. Year by year pupils listened to the discussions on Limborch and Voetius in elephantine Latin periods, minute examinations of texts that proved little, and theological definitions that mattered less. Fortunately, according to Dr. Alexander Carlyle, for this very tediousness and inanity they had their compensations; for he attributed the larger culture and liberality of the clergy that sprung up about 1730 to the very fact that the teachers were dull, Dutch, and prolix, "so that they could form no school, and left students to think for themselves." What made the divinity halls an ordeal of exceptional dulness was there being practically only one teacher[1] to listen to for six or four years in succession, for, as none was obliged to attend classes on Hebrew and Church history, few lectures were ever given, and few students went to hear them. In 1740 "Jupiter" Carlyle attended as theological student only the divinity class in Edinburgh, where Professor Goudie discoursed laboriously on Pictet's *Compend. of Theology*, and in seven years he had only lectured through half that respected work. Fifteen years later Dr. Somerville of Jedburgh in his student days attended the same class, under another professor; but still Pictet was the text-book, the exposition absorbing five or six years.[2] At the end of the century another generation sat on the forms of the divinity hall; the old College had gone, and a new and finer building had risen in its place; another professor sat in the chair; but still the text-book was the perennial Pictet.[3] Fortunately, the lack of teaching and teachers enabled students to return to Arts classes,

[1] For a considerable period the curriculum for the Church lasted for nine years—three years in philosophy classes, six years in divinity.

[2] Bower's *Edin. Univ.* ii. 320; Somerville's *Life*, p. 17. Wodrow writes in 1731 that the Church history professor has £100, and really does nothing for it, "he will not have six or seven hearers."—*Correspondence.* Carlyle's *Autobiography*, p. 55.

[3] At other Universities teachers like Dr. George Campbell and Principal Gerard were then imbuing theological students with more life and literature.

to revisit as listeners the rooms they once attended as pupils; and they gained vastly more from Hutcheson and Reid, Colin Maclaurin and Joseph Black, than from a dozen expounders of Calvin, Marckius, Pictetus,[1] or the Turretins.

The study of Hebrew was in sorest straits in the early years of the century. There were few men who knew anything about the language; fewer still could teach it.[2] And even to earn the salary of £20 there were none that were able, few that were ready, though there were some that were bold enough. One professor in Edinburgh flitted from his post, where he taught chemistry, to another where he undertook to instruct in Oriental languages. Another in Glasgow, in 1704, Mr. John Tran, taught Greek in the University, but agreed also to teach Hebrew for three years without a salary to the philosophical students—for it was not a chair then connected with Divinity; and in this task he was succeeded by the professor of mathematics, who undertook the duty "as having most time," with an allowance of "three hundred merks during pleasure." A quaint tradition of Glasgow College still lingers of a gentleman having been appointed to the feeless, studentless chair of Hebrew, and having been sent to Holland to learn the language that he might be able to teach it; and tradition (or legend) further tells that for long after, whenever a youth appeared at Leyden desiring to learn Hebrew, Chaldaic, or Syriac, he was asked with Batavian humour if he was a Scots professor. Only after the middle of the century was this subject taught by men possessed of decent scholarship, and it was then made an essential class for students for the ministry to attend.[3]

[1] Professor Reid writes in 1764: "Many attend the moral philosophy class four or five years, so that I have many preachers and students of divinity and law of considerable standing before whom I stand in awe to speak without more preparation than I have leisure for."—Reid's *Works*, p. 40.

[2] The painful, and prayerful, and pathetic labours of Mr. Thomas Boston to master the Hebrew tongue, and his discoveries on Hebrew accentuation, which he considered of divine origin, show the prevailing lack of Semitic scholarship. —*Memoirs, passim.*

[3] In 1702 there were only two applicants for a vacant chair, and both of them were "plucked" in the examination—a chapter of the Old Testament in Hebrew having been prescribed. One of the unsuccessful candidates was afterwards made professor, as there was none better to be got.—Bower's *Edin. Univ.* i. 12.

While men of ability sat in university chairs the miserable salaries given formed a poor requital for their labours. Much was exacted from them. They devoted several hours daily in the session to teaching their incongruous subjects, but the stipends on which they lived were painfully meagre. At the early part of the century the Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, was expected by charter [1] to possess well-nigh omniscience, for he was required "to be well informed in the Scriptures in order to explain the mysteries of religion; to be skilled in languages, especially Hebrew and Syriac, which he was to teach once a week; to illustrate from Greek Aristotle's *Physiology* ('beginning where the regent left off'); to give a short explication of anatomy; to teach the principles of geography, chronology, and astronomy, also the Hebrew grammar with practical application." For a gentlemen possessed of such capacity it cannot be said that the salary of £60 per annum was an excessive remuneration. The Principal of Edinburgh College had his income raised in 1703 from £41 to £90 [2] —which was the remuneration given to Principal Carstares; but the Principal at Glasgow was obliged to be content with £60 and his "board at the common table." His four regents had 500 merks (£25) each,[3] "with their share of the table," while the supernumerary professors of Latin and Greek received only £15 with a small fee from a few pupils who chose to attend their classes. It is not surprising that in such a state of pecuniary destitution many young men just finishing their own studies made a professorship a stepping stone to a church; that some eked out their living by taking boarders or acting as tutors; and that others quitted their posts, which were precariously paid, in disgust, and sought a more lucrative occupation wherever they could find it.[4]

[1] Kennedy's *Aberdeen*, ii. 92-4.

[2] Dalziel's *Hist. Edin. University*, ii. 279.

[3] These allowances raised by Royal Charter in 1712 by £11 to each regent—the professors of Hebrew and mathematics to get £40.—*Munimenta Glas.*

[4] *Annals of Aberdeen*, ii. 279. In 1703 the professor of mathematics in King's College, Aberdeen, was allowed 200 merks (£10) with maintenance at the common table during session—this salary to be paid by tax on ale vended in the town.—*Ibid.*, ii. 351. The impecuniosity of the regents even led them to tout for scholars, as may be seen in the not too dignified appeals of Mr. W. Black of King's College to Dunbar of Thunderton. In 1702 he

In the first quarter of the century the average salaries were about £25 or £30, which, in some cases only, were supplemented by the fees of three or four dollars from each of the students. Even later in the century, when salaries were raised to £50, and the number of students had increased, the whole income of a brilliant scholar or profound man of science would not exceed £150. Fortunately, living then was cheap, or professors would have starved. No wonder men like Colin Maclaurin and Adam Smith were willing to resign their chairs to become travelling tutors to sons of noblemen. There was a further hardship in the fact that there was no provision for pensioning superannuated professors, however old and effete and infirm they might be; and as these men had with difficulty existed on their meagre incomes, they had no means of living when they relinquished their posts. With the tenacity of grim despair they clung to their seats as their only security from starvation; and the only method by which a prospective successor could induce a worn-out gentleman to retire from a class he could not teach was to bribe him with a sum of money, or offer him his salary as long as he lived.[1] By this process the successor was led into trials; he had to borrow money to buy this post, or to exist for long years on fees worth £50 or £60, till the annuitant, tenacious alike of life and salary, mercifully died. It was only late in the century, when students increased vastly in numbers, that more reasonable endowments were given, and professors could be certain of comfort for themselves and their families.[2]

writes: "If you chance to meet in the course of your peregrinations with any who have a mind to save themselves a year's time, I hope you will recommend them to me, who can (according to late laudable custom of other universities) receive them as Semies, although they have never been Bajan in any college." Again he writes in 1705: "If any you meet have Latin enough, tho' they may have but a small beginning of Greek, I shall see they can compleat their course, and give them as much (if they please more) Greek than ever probably they have use for."—Dunbar's *Social Life in Morayshire*, i. pp. 1-4.

[1] Professor Hunter sold his Greek chair in Edinburgh to Mr. Dalziel for £300 and liferent of the salary.—Grant's *Edin. Univ.*, ii. 324; Rae's *Life of Adam Smith*, p. 165.

[2] In King's College, Aberdeen, in 1750, the principal had £106 yearly, and the professors £40 or £50.—Chamberlayne's *Present State of Great Britain*,

As the century advanced distinguished professors began to cast lustre on the universities, redeeming them from the reproach of obscurantism, lethargy, and dulness. No longer did medical students require to go to Holland for their knowledge of physic, under Gaubius or Albinus, or to Paris for the practice of anatomy; no longer did the students of law need to learn rudiments of Roman law at Groningen and Utrecht; and students of divinity ceased to go to learn Calvinism at Leyden; these they could acquire at home—though the Dutch authorities in all these branches were almost as powerful as before. Scottish universities began to attract scholars from England and the colonies, and professors lived more richly by boarding the sons of noblemen who came to attend their classes than they did by teaching them. At the beginning of the century Edinburgh had eight professors and 300 students; at the close of the century it had twenty-one professors and over 1200 students.[1]

Edinburgh College became too small for its rapidly increasing flocks of pupils—there was no room for them, even in the old student chambers, which were utilised now as class-rooms, dark, low, cramped apartments, in which successive classes met hour after hour to breathe polluted air. The College buildings, which had been formed without order or plan—originally an old dwelling-house with some students' chambers—had long

1754. In 1764 the salary of Dr. Joseph Black as professor of medicine in Glasgow was £50, and his fees were £20 to £30; but as he held also the post of teaching chemistry with a salary of £20 and fees, his income from both chairs amounted to £140 to £160.—Reid's *Works* (Hamilton's edit.), p. 45. Writing to a friend in 1764, Professor Reid says "that as professor of moral philosophy my salary is the same as in Aberdeen (that is, £40 or £50). I have touched £70 in fees, and may possibly make out the hundred this session." (He had from fifty to sixty students.)—*Ibid.* p. 47. On his appointment to the chair of medicine in Edinburgh in 1756, Dr. Cullen had no salary, and was dependent upon the fees of students, who only numbered seventeen the first year, though they ultimately increased to 148.—Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, i. 197.

[1] In St. Andrews there were from 1738-1748 an average of 56 Art students; in 1792 there were 100 Arts students and 48 Divinity.—*Stat. Acct. Scot.*, xiii. p. 209; Hall's *Travels*, i. 115. In Aberdeen there were at the end of the century 100 Divinity students.—Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, ii. 100. In Glasgow, from 350 to 400 in 1760, and in 1792, 800 students.—Reid's *Works*, edit. by Hamilton, pp. 42-46. In Edinburgh in 1800, 805 Arts students, 660 Medical, and 131 Divinity.—Ker's *Life of W. Smellie*, ii. 206.

been an academic disgrace and an architectural eyesore. In 1768 a movement was made to provide by subscriptions a worthy edifice for a University instead of shabby, poverty-stricken buildings, which Principal Robertson contemptuously characterised:[1] "A stranger when conducted to view the University of Edinburgh might on seeing such courts and buildings naturally imagine them to be alms-houses for the reception of the poor, but would never imagine he was entering within the precincts of a noted and flourishing seat of learning. An area, which if entire might have formed a spacious quadrangle, is broken up into paltry divisions, and encompassed partly by walls which threaten destruction to passengers, but partly with a range of low houses, several of which are now become ruinous and not habitable." Yet years went by and matters grew worse; the redeeming feature—"the spacious garden for the professors in common to walk and divert themselves in the evening"—was removed in 1785 to make room for the South Bridge Street. At last, however, the foundation stone of the new college was laid in 1789, and gradually an edifice, designed by Adam, was reared, worthy of the reputation of a great university.

[1] *Scots Magazine*, 1768, p. 114.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION: MEDICAL ART AND MEDICAL PRACTICE

I

AMONGST the many movements that started into being during the eighteenth century none was more striking, none more important, than that in furtherance of medical and surgical art. Before this period the healing art had been in a most primitive state—its knowledge the most meagre, its practice the most crude, its methods the most empirical. There had for long time existed the Incorporation of Surgeons and Barbers in Edinburgh, and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons, including barbers, in Glasgow, which gave degrees of little worth, after very rudimentary examinations, for which the candidates received no preparation, save as serving as apprentices to surgeons. The association with the barbers was formed in olden days when there was little difference in science between the two crafts; when barbers not merely shaved but operated, not merely cut hair but cut veins, and practised all the arts of surgery.[1] Long before the eighteenth century opened the alliance had become irksome, the surgeons treating their inferior brethren with contumely; and probably there was

[1] In the rules of the College of Surgeons and Barbers in Edinburgh in 1505, it is required that all must "knaw anatomie, nature, and complexion of everie member of the humanis bodie, and in lykwyse knaw all the vaynis of the samyn, that he mak Flewbothomia in dew tyme, and alseu that he knaw in quhilk member the Signes hes domination for the tyme . . . and that we may have ains the Zeir ane condempnit man after he has died to make anatomia of . . . and that na barbour maister or servand exerce the craft of surgeerie without he knaw perfytlie the things above written."—Maitland's *Hist. of Edin.*, 1756, p. 294.

more spite than piety in their threatening with expulsion from the corporation those barbers who persistently profaned the Sabbath by "barbourising"—"a most scandalous and hiely provoking sin," said the righteous Faculty of Glasgow in 1676—"contrair to the Word of God and to all laws humane and divyne," they pungently added.[1] In 1727 the uncomfortable bond between the uncongenial crafts was severed, and the only tradition left of the old surgical pretensions and functions of the barbers was in the pole jutting forth over their shop door, with its stripes of red and blue to symbolise the arterial and venous blood, and the brass basin to represent the utensil in which when shed by the blood-letters it was to be received.

Surgeons under the combined names and exercising the combined functions of "Chirurgeon-apothecaries" acted as general practitioners in Scotland—professing to heal wounds and to cure diseases, making and selling drugs, and operating with instruments, few, ill-made, and clumsy, made by blacksmiths, so different from the fine instruments then used by French surgeons. The manner in which they learned their business was by becoming apprentices to chirurgeons,[2] from whom, like Roderick Random, they learned "to bleed and give a clyster, to spread a plaster, and prepare a potion." The apprenticeship lasted for three years, and the indenture was of the strictest terms—in 1739 the youth binding himself "to serve his master by day and by night, holy-day and week-day;[3] to reveal no secret of master or patient; to commit no filthy crimes or sins; to go to no professor of medicine, chyma, anatomy, surgerie, or materia medica during the first two years"; to pay £50 sterling as apprentice fee, in return for which the chirurgeon obliges himself "to instruct him in the said airtes of surgery and pharmacy, and shall conceal nothing of the same, and entertains him sufficiently in bed and board."[4]

[1] Duncan's *Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow*, p. 72. A similar protest in indignant terms was uttered by the Surgeons of Edinburgh in 1635. —Gairdner's *Hist. Sketch of Royal College of Surgeons.*

[2] *Duncan*, p. 5; Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, ii. 513. The practice was retained in England long after it was abolished in Scotland.

[3] Hector's *Judicial Records of Renfrewshire*, i. 102.

[4] When Roderick Random applies to become apprentice to Crab at Glasgow,

After this period was over the apprentice, who may have spent three years with the most incompetent practitioner in a countryside, appeared before the Faculty or Incorporation, was questioned on the theoretical and practical part of his profession, dissected a prescribed part of a body, made up a prescription, produced a thesis, and received his dangerous licence to practise as "Chyr. apothecary." To pass into his profession he probably had received no public instruction in anatomy or physic, as the records of the old medical school clearly show.[1] Not till 1694 was there any grant given by the Edinburgh Town Council of bodies for the purpose of dissection. In the surgical theatre the subject was the corpse of a foundling, suicide, or murderer, divided into ten parts and distributed to ten members of the Incorporation, who dissected either for private benefit or the public edification of any apprentices in the town who might turn up. This was, of course, utterly unsatisfactory, and in 1704 a Mr. Elliot was appointed "public dissector in anatomy" for the benefit of the lieges, and "as an encouragement to young men to stay at home, instead of travelling to foreign universities, which was attended by expenses and perils to youth," and a salary of £15 was allotted "for his encouragement." Surgical knowledge and skill were little furthered, however, either by him or by those who succeeded him as nominal professors of city and college, for these very

professing to know a little pharmacy and to have learnt something of surgery, "Oho! you did?" said Crab. "Gentlemen, here is a complete artist! Studied surgery! What? in books I suppose. I shall have you disputing with me one of these days on points of my profession! You can already account for muscular motion, I warrant, and explain the mystery of brain and motion—ha! You are too learned for me, damn me. Can you bleed and give a clyster, spread plaster and prepare a potion?"—*Roderick Random*, chap vii.

[1] *Sketch of Hist. of College of Surgeons, Edin.*, by Gairdner, 1860, p. 16. In 1694 Dr. Monteath was permitted by the Town Council to have "the bodies of foundlings that dye at the breast, and those that dye in the house of correction," and afterwards the Incorporation of Surgeons were allowed for dissection "bodies of foundlings who dye betwixt the tyme that they are weaned and their being put to schools and trades, all the dead bodies of such as are styflit at the birth, which are exposed and have none to owne them, likewise the bodies of such as are put to death by sentence of the magistrates and have none to owne them, and suicides." When Dr. Pitcairn had previously asked permission to open the bodies of the poor who died at Paul's Wark (Poorhouse), promising to bury them after at his own expense, the Town Council refused his request."—Bower's *Edin. University*, ii. 155.

occasional demonstrations few apprentices attended, and certainly no one was obliged to witness.[1]

Perhaps the neglect of all medical instruction was even more gross in Glasgow, for there was not even a pretence of giving public teaching. Not till 1740,[2] when Dr. Hamilton was put into the chair of anatomy at the University, was there public instruction given in the all-important surgical art in the West of Scotland, all acquaintance with it having been derived from country chirurgeons, who were usually as ignorant of any rational method of surgery as they were of pharmacy and therapeutics.[3]

The most important step towards reforming surgery and founding a medical school was taken by the appointment, in 1724, of Dr. Alexander Monro, at the age of twenty-two, to be professor of anatomy in Edinburgh, operating in the Surgeons' Hall, and in the University in 1726. Under his brilliant teaching, and fired by his enthusiasm, his class, at first numbering fifty-seven, rose to high numbers, and from England and Ireland were soon attracted young men who had thitherto thronged to Holland. Other professors and teachers of physic, botany, materia medica, were appointed at the same time, and the medical school at last was formed which was to achieve a European reputation for the University, and to change a craft into an art, and empiricism into the fair imitation of a science.[4]

[1] The supply of bodies for dissection being so small, there arose at times outcries at the violation of graves in Edinburgh and Glasgow, which increased suspicion at the doings of the surgical school.—Grant's *Edin. Univ.*, i. 204; Duncan's *Faculty*.

[2] In 1714 a professor of medicine and in 1720 a professor of anatomy were nominally appointed, but they neither taught nor lectured.—Duncan's *Faculty of Surgeons and Physicians*, pp. 125-8; Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, i. 3.

[3] Quack doctors were in request for surgical operations as well as for drugs, and in the estimation of the Kirk-Session might be regarded as more skilful than a qualified surgeon. In Kirk-Session records of Shotts there is noted—"1730, to Mr. Green, the mountebag, for couching John Roger's wife's eyes, £9 : 6 Scots."—Grossart's *Parish of Shotts*, p. 60.

[4] William Hunter, the future great anatomist, lived at Hamilton as assistant to Dr. Cullen, the future eminent physician, from 1737 to 1740, with the arrangement that one of them should study during winter at some medical school, while the other carried on the business in the country for the profit of both.—P. 205, *Lives of British Physicians*, 1830.

II

The position of physicians was even worse than that of the surgeons; they at least could act as general practitioners, as doctors and apothecaries, but physicians were entirely restricted to physic, and if they ventured to perform a surgical operation they were obliged to pay fees and qualify as surgeons before the Incorporation.[1] There was really no place in Scotland where one could study medicine till 1727 in Edinburgh, and 1750 in Glasgow, and though the candidate for a degree was required to study "at one famous university where medicine is taught," there was none to be found in Scotland. If a man wished to get his degree at a Scots university, by a fiction it was conferred, sometimes after an examination before two or three obscure physicians in a city, and sometimes without any examination at all.[2] It was abroad that men of any means or ambition went to study—to Gottingen, Utrecht, Rheims, or Paris, where the most distinguished teachers in Europe were lecturing; above all, to Leyden, to attend the classes of the great and idolised Boerhaave, whence they returned home to take a higher position than ill-educated chirurgeon apothecaries.

The want of any means of improving the medical art of physic had long been felt, and it was an outcome of the laudable desire for reform that in 1675[3] well-known doctors, such as Sir Robert Sibbald and Dr. A. Pitcairn, had secured a humble parcel of ground near Holyrood, "some forty feet every way," over which they set a gardener skilled in herbs, who afterwards bore the ambitious title of Professor of Botany, which he never taught. To this modest garden gentlemen travelling abroad sent parcels of seeds and roots; students

[1] *Duncan*, p. 94.

[2] Gairdner's *Hist. of College of Physicians*, Edin. 1864, p. 16. The first M.D. of Edinburgh was in 1705. Dr. Arbuthnot was the first physician called in St. Andrews (1696), and on an average three annually got degrees in George II.'s reign. Previously to 1726 in Edinburgh there were only twenty-one medical degrees conferred, between 1726-1735 an average of one and a half annually, 1736-1745 average two, between 1790-1805 on an average forty-seven took degree of M.D.—Kerr's *Life of Smellie, F.R.S.*, ii. 203.

[3] *Autobiography of Sir R. Sibbald, M.D.*, 1833, p. 22.

brought from Holland specimens of herbs to equip the scantily filled borders.[1] With the same ambition to found a school of medicine, a "College of Physicians" had been established by charter, though the advantage of it was not obvious, seeing it could examine no students, could confer no degrees, only appointed lecturers who rarely lectured, and got no salaries, and received only small fees from a handful of students. In fact, it was not till 1726, when four physicians of eminence were installed as professors, by the enlightened policy of the Town Council, that a medical school of physic was really founded in Edinburgh; and it was not till 1750 that any public teaching worthy of the name was given in Glasgow—by the installing in the chair of theory and practice of medicine Dr. Cullen, who afterwards, with his distinguished colleague, Joseph Black, was translated to Edinburgh.[2]

In order to learn what was the wretched state of the art of physicking in Scotland up to the middle of the century—how crude, how barbarous—we have but to turn over the pages of the *Pharmacopœias* issued under sanction of the College of Physicians in Edinburgh. Elsewhere we have seen what drugs and remedies and preparations were prescribed in the popular "Receits" of Moncrieff of Tippermalloch. Yet ludicrous and disgusting as these were, they were used by almost all the surgeon-apothecaries in the early part of the century, although wise men laughed at many favourite "cures," and bold men discarded them. Dr. Cullen himself, who did more than any man of his country to inform physic with sense, to raise medical art to a science, and to improve the practice by teaching the theory of medicine, spoke[3] freely of prescriptions which, foolish as they were in his manhood in

[1] This physic garden with its 2700 sorts of plants did not impress Morer, the English chaplain, in 1689. "This variety of plants is all its beauty, having no walks, and but little walling or good hedges to recommend it, and is (to my thinking) the rudest piece of ground I ever saw of that name."—Morer's *Short Account of Scotland*, 1702, p. 87.

[2] Grant's *Edin. University*, i. 312. When the Medical Faculty took up its position as an essential part of university work, attendance at lectures was recognised in certain circumstances as equivalent to a year's apprenticeship, and at a later stage a rudimentary curriculum was formulated by the Faculty. —*Duncan*, p. 95.

[3] Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, i. 531.

1757, were preposterous in his youth. "I must say that not long ago the Pharmacopœias of the several colleges of Europe were a scandal to physic, and contained many things shocking to common sense; many of them do so still." Having thus spoken, he claims, as the honour of the Edinburgh College, that it was the first to attempt to execute "this important reformation, and the first to aim at their exquisite choice and judgment." This eulogium causes us to turn with curiosity to the *Edinburgh Pharmacopœia*, which "was in request over Europe," in order to discover what were the practice and value of physic in Scotland. In the third edition, issued in 1737, are enumerated, among the various articles for preparation of drugs, spiders' webs and viper's body, Spanish flies and pigeons' blood, hoofs of elks, bodies and eggs of ants, fat and gizzard of hen and spawn of frogs, excrement of horse, pig, peacock, and goat, human blood, fat, and urine, human skull and mummy, feet of goats and teeth of boar, skin of snake, and mother of pearl, snails and claws of crabs, bodies of frogs and juice of woodlice.[1] *Bufo preparatus*, or concocted toad, is thus to be prepared: "Put live toads in an earthen pot, and dry them in an oven moderately heated to such a degree as they may be pulverised."[2] Millepeds or woodlice, whose juice when living and whose dust when dead were regarded as an invaluable remedy of the day, are to be treated by being "put in a proper pot and dried in a very slow heat" —the ordeal meted out to bees. Nor must be forgotten

[1] Dr. Pitcairn, eminent as a physician in Edinburgh, and formerly a professor at Leyden, where he had the great Boerhaave as his pupil and the great Dr. Mead as his admiring disciple, recommends in epilepsy for younger patients "mercury and broth with earthworms, also anti-epileptic tincture made of wild valerian root, white dittary, pigeons' dung, charred bark of oak, rosemary tops, white French wine." When the concoction is strained "add powder of human skulls, shavings of elks' hoofs, amber, and castor."—*Works of Dr. Arch. Pitcairn*, 3rd. edit., 1740, p. 250.

[2] *Pharmacopœia Edinburgensis; or, New Edinburgh Dispensatory*, edited by Peter Blaw, M.D., London, 1737; also in *Pharmacopœia*, 1744. Professor Alston (professor 1716-1760), in his *Lectures on Materia Medica* published posthumously in 1770, sneers at many of the prescriptions. Regarding the burnt toads he says, "All the favour I ask for these innocent animals is to kill them before they are burnt, a favour never denied to the greatest criminals, for I can assure you the powder will be the none the worse for it. Is not a burnt mouse as good as a burnt toad?"—ii. pp. 498-99.

the bezoar, that stony concretion alleged to be found in the stomachs of the goats of Borneo, deemed so precious for curing vertigo and jaundice and the plague,—a worthless, often spurious substance, which sold at its weight in gold, for £3 or £4 an ounce; nor the mummy which was used for apoplexy and pleurisy, believed to be the embalmed bodies of Egyptian kings, but really made up by Jews, and sold in Paris for a big price to credulous doctors or still more credulous patients.[1]

In the vast list of vegetable simples are no fewer than 450 from angelica to wormwood—their roots, leaves, stems, flowers—each possessing some special virtue. Drugs were not often imported, for the apothecary had not far to seek for the ingredients of his concoctions. The kailyard behind his house, the road-side and marshes, the garden of the laird, or the plantations, afforded materials to his hand. There he might collect marsh-mallow, celandine, and "stinking arag," or fir tops. Of almost any vegetable simple distilled waters were composed, and drunk in faith by everybody; although the Pharmacopœist of 1737 protests against the many worthless farragoes made and sold in the shops. Dr. Radcliffe of olden times used to say that when he was young he had fifty remedies for one disease, but when he got old he had one remedy for fifty diseases. Practice was the rudest, and skill was lamentably scarce in Scotland, and, like the English physician in his callow days, Scots doctors had divers remedies, all equally ineffectual, for each complaint. Most elaborately the "chyr.-apothecaries" made up preparations of multitudinous ingredients, as if the precise effect of every item had been nicely calculated and exactly ascertained. For instance, there was *Theriac Damocrates*, containing forty-two different herbs—roots, leaves, flowers, juices—with honey, canary wine, and the belly part of the "skink." Still more elaborate was the *Theriac Andromachus*, in which treacle there were fifty-two vegetable, besides animal, elements employed, together with mineral articles and paste of oyster shell. There were also innumerable confections, plaisters, electuaries, lodochs, and troches of strange kinds and contents, such as *Trochesei Viperini*, consisting of

[1] "Mummies," remarks Professor Alston frankly, "are in my opinion detestable stuff."—*Lectures*, ii. 544.

vipers' flesh and "bisket bread" boiled into a broth; and oil of earthworms, consisting of worms, olive oil, and white wine. *Vinum millepedatum* (for which "we must take two ounces of live millepeds or slaters, bruise them a little, and pour upon them a pint of Rhenish wine") was, we are told, the most proper way of obtaining the virtues of millepeds; "and decoctions made of the roots of celandine, turmeric, juice of 200 millepeds or slaters (woodlice)," remarks the learned annotator of the *Pharmacopœia*, "cannot but be of great service in a case of jaundice."[1]

Such are a few illustrations of the nature of physicking in the year 1737, eleven years after a staff of eminent physicians had begun systematic teaching in the University, drawn from a work which came forth with their approval and supervision. In later editions of the *Edinburgh Dispensatory* there are a few improvements, some weeding out of the luxuriant lists of simples; but even twenty years later, although powder of human skull and of Egyptian mummy, goose fat and excrement of dog, are not mentioned, still, beside a formidable array of useless vegetable simples, remain cobwebs, snails, woodlice or slaters, worms, and vipers. All these, however (excepting the loathsome but esteemed "slaters"), are omitted from the *Materia Medica Catalogue* issued in 1776 under the presidency of Dr. Cullen. Thus slowly was physic made rational.[2]

In the earlier part of the century the unqualified practitioners abounded everywhere; many a one who served three years' apprenticeship under a grossly ignorant chirurgeon proceeded to practise without ever qualifying before the Surgical Incorporations, and operated and drugged without

[1] The *Pharmacopœias* of England—Royal College of Physicians in London—contain prescriptions and elements quite as preposterous as those of Edinburgh, and even in 1745 they retained, after they were discarded in Scotland, the theriacs, vipers' broth, bezoar, and brick oil, which was prepared by immersing hot bricks in oil, and then distilling the fragments in a retort.—Thomson's *Cullen*, ii. 566; *Essay on Vipers*, by Richard Mead, M.D.

[2] Midwifery was practised entirely by women, except in very special cases, till the middle of the century. Dr. William Smellie of Lanark, afterwards of London, was almost the first to practise an art which was difficult to acquire, as it had been exclusively in the hands of females.—Glaister's *Dr. William Smellie*.

learning, skill, or legal qualification, for he found it easier to pay a possible fine than to pay fees for a diploma. In vain might the Faculty of Glasgow or Incorporation of Edinburgh[1] threaten "letters of horning" against any unlicensed practitioners or even quacks. The threats of a few surgeons in Glasgow could not frighten quondam apprentices from posing as full-fledged doctors in Galloway, or hinder them dispensing their hideous drugs in Inverness. Without hesitation or question Tobias Smollett, after acting as apprentice to a chirurgeon in Glasgow, entered the Navy as surgeon's mate without examination or diploma, and practised on land long before he was M.D. in England.[2] Worse still were the quacks that abounded, mountebanks at fairs, gardeners who knew the qualities of physic herbs, and women sage in plant-lore, in whose skill the people believed with implicit faith, and who probably did less harm than legally qualified medical men. It was very gradually that improvement set in, as belief died out in useless herbs and vain concoctions, in centauries, vomitories, electuaries, troches, and lodochs, as greater intelligence prevailed among the people, and more skill and conscience prevailed among the doctors.[3] There were, fortunately, medical

[1] The Edinburgh Corporation of Surgeons and Barbers had conferred on them in 1695 the power to examine all practising anatomy, surgery, and pharmacy in the three Lothians and shires of Selkirk, Peebles, Berwick, and Roxburgh.—Gairdner's *Hist. of College of Surgeons*, Edin. p. 13.

[2] Dr. William Smellie, the famous and earliest obstetrician in Scotland, seems to have practised at Lanark with impunity without undergoing examination or having any diploma.—Glaister's *Dr. William Smellie and his Contemporaries.*

[3] Notwithstanding the high reputation of Edinburgh and Glasgow as medical schools, Scots diplomas were regarded with contempt in England owing to the lax way in which degrees in physic were often given in Scotland. Glasgow often gave degrees without requiring any certificate from the candidates of previous study. St. Andrews and Aberdeen made a regular traffic in degrees, giving them for fees to persons who were never examined, or on certificate of two obscure physicians. In 1754 Dr. William Hunter wrote to Dr. Cullen lamenting "how contemptuously the College of Physicians here (in London) have treated Scotch degrees indiscriminately," for which St. Andrews and Aberdeen were chiefly responsible. There were in London men who made a trade of buying them, "who pass by the name of brokers of Scotch degrees." —Thomson's *Cullen*, i. 661. Ridicule was excited when St. Andrews sold a degree to one Green, a stage doctor or mountebank, and even Edinburgh added to the scandal by admitting to the degree of M.D. one Samuel Leeds, an illiterate creature brought up as a brush-maker.—Thomson's *Life of Cullen*, i. 465-483.

prescriptions more wholesome and helpful, such as the orders to patients to drink the goats' whey in the Highland borders, or to try the virtues of the waters of the "Spaw" at Duns (rising to reputation in the middle of the century)[1]; and, above all, to drink at the famous wells at Moffat. Every year on the roads to the Highlands were to be met elderly gentlemen on horseback, followed by their men-servants, riding with cloak and baggage, who were going to some wretched Highland inn to drink modest draughts of goats' milk as antidote to too copious draughts of claret. In spring there met round the little wells at Moffat a throng, in their gayest and brightest, from society in town and country, sipping the unpleasant waters, and discussing their pleasant gossip. At the bowling green were to be seen sauntering valetudinarian city clergy, men of letters, and country gentlemen, ladies of rank and fashion; while the diseased, decrepit, of the poorest rank, who had toilsomely travelled from far-off districts to taste the magic waters, loitered in their rags in the village street.

The many truly eminent teachers who filled the medical and surgical chairs of Scottish universities in successive generations—Cullen, Black, Whytt, the Monros, and the Gregorys—effected an immense change in the methods of teaching and practising, and won for themselves and for their schools a European fame. The medical classes of Edinburgh at the end of the century were attended by as many hundreds as they had been by tens fifty years before, and the University attained a reputation equal to that once held by the celebrated old schools of Holland.[2]

[1] *Virtues of Dunse Spaw*, by F. Home, M.D., 1751.

[2] In Edinburgh in 1750 there were about 60 medical students; in 1766 there were 160; in 1800 the numbers had gone up to 660. — Thomson's *Cullen*, i. 859; Kerr's *Life of Smellie*, ii. 206.

CHAPTER XIV

CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS

I

To get an adequate notion of the social life of a country it is necessary to know not merely the demeanour of the people, but also their misdemeanours; what were the crimes by which they broke the law, as well as the orderly lives by which they kept it. The criminal code, therefore, throws light upon the social and moral condition of a community, on their habits and modes of life. Yet laws in a statute book are not invariably exact criterions of the character of an age, for laws which arose in less advanced times and were infused with their harsher spirit may continue unrepealed, owing to that staunch conservatism which clings to all things legal, which will rather ingeniously evade ancient acts than take the trouble to amend them, long after the offences which they were meant to repress have lost their offensiveness or have disappeared from the land.

One marked feature in old Scots laws is their ecclesiastical and pseudo-religious purpose; as if the effort since the Reformation period had been to make Scotland a clumsy theocracy. It is this quality which dictated the grim law against blasphemy which made the luckless lad Thomas Aikenhead its victim—fortunately its last—for "cursing the Saviour," in 1696, in full accordance with the resolution of the Church "against the atheistical principles of such as go under the name of Deists,"—a phraseology which, though somewhat incoherent, expresses a bigotry in which there was, unhappily, only too much coherence.

It was the same spirit which dictated the enactments

making the persons liable to death who stole "vessels or utensils" from a kirk, which condemned to confiscation of all his "movables"[1] any one who assaulted a minister of the gospel, which made liable to death all children over sixteen years of age, "not distracted in their wits," guilty of cursing their parents,[2] and piously and rigorously safeguarded the Sabbath by its penalties against "all users of hard labour, all who sold drink, or fished salmon, or hired servants," and all other desecrators of the Lord's day.

The morality of the people, also, was preserved by the fines, carefully proportioned to the rank of the offender, from the nobleman who was mulcted £28 Scots, to the servant on whom was imposed 28s. for cursing and swearing,[3] while drunkenness and uncleanness also had penalties, nicely graduated from lord to peasant,[4] which, if they had been exacted with a stringency equal to the letter of the law, would have filled to overflowing the poor-box, to which one-half was due, in an age of much drunkenness, much cursing, and lax morals. These fines, however, were less and less enforced by justices as the century went on; although ever and again the sheriff was reminded by the Kirk-Sessions of the statute subjecting him to a penalty of £100 Scots if he did not set the law in operation at their command.

It was against the crime of witchcraft that the statutes

[1] In 1719 Ensign Bean, an Englishman, assaulted with his cane and fist the minister of Kirkden after a discussion on the relative merits of the Episcopal and Presbyterian communions. He was condemned, according to Act James II., to escheat of movables.—Hume, i. 320.

[2] In 1738 when a man was tried for cursing his mother, the expression "God damn you for an old liar" was found relevant, but the person was acquitted.—Hume's *Commentaries*, 1813, i. 318.

[3] In accordance with this Act a miller was punished who used the imprecation to the laird of Hunter, "God's curse light upon the said family, God damn all generations of them," with other "such like unchristian and unwarrantable expressions."—Hector's *Judicial Records of Renfrewshire*, p. 219.

[4] In 1712 the lords of session tried an appeal by one John Pardie, guilty of immorality, on whom had been imposed the penalty of £100 Scots in case of "a gentleman." Justices had convicted him at the rank and rate of a gentleman, being son of a heritor. On his appeal their lordships sustained his objection, and restricted the fine to £16 Scots, "because he had not the air or face of a gentleman." In 1715 twenty-one persons were prosecuted before the Sheriff of Paisley for uncleanness—the penalties amounting to £260—at rate of £10 for first offence and £20 for the second.—Hector's *Judicial Records*, p. 80.

were most stout, and time after time occasions occurred when they were enforced in their fullest rigour. For years there might be only local rumours, which rose and died away; then suddenly popular fears and imagination were profoundly stirred, wild reports were sent to the Privy Council, prosecutions began, and victims were made to prevailing clamour and credulity.[1] When the eighteenth century began the inquisitions had abated; but so long as Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees—called "Gutters" —lived as Lord Advocate, the law was not allowed to rest or to rust under the pious vigilance of that eminent lawyer, who had won his laurels by his faithful prosecution of the witches who tormented the Laird of Bargarran's daughter, when five women were burned for their diabolical machinations in 1697. Few years passed by without witch hunts which ended in direful tragedies. They generally became epidemic in a district, and a witch season set in with great severity. Such an epidemic attacked Fifeshire in 1704. Lilias Addie, at Torryburn, confessed before the minister and elders that she had had dealings with Satan, and attended midnight revels when the evil one presided, which iniquity she expiated by being burned within the sea-mark. In the same year Pittenweem was put into vast agitation by a lad, afflicted with fits, accusing an unfortunate woman of having cursed him with her sorcery. Thereupon she was seized, thrust into the "thieves' hole," tortured by pricking to extort a confession, until, being kept five days and nights without sleep, the poor, half-demented wretch owned her guilt. While minister and magistrates were arranging through dreary five months for her case being brought before the Privy Council, fortunately some sane members of that Council planned that she might escape from her miserable dungeon, and she eluded the fury of Pittenweem. Not so successful was another old woman who had been driven by terrorism to own she had vexed a man by devilish agency in the same sorely witch-afflicted town. She escaped from the jail only to fall into the clutches of the minister of a neighbouring parish, who conscientiously sent her back to Pittenweem, where she was seized by the mob,

[1] *Hist. of Renfrewshire Witches*, 1809. Last witch sentenced by Lord of Justiciary was in 1709—to branding and banishment.

bound, beaten, and dragged by the heels through the street to the beach, and then, tied by a rope stretching from a vessel in the harbour to the shore, she was swung to and fro while she was pelted with stones. At last, let down with a crash to the ground, she was beaten mercilessly till, with unintended mercy, the rabble covered her with a door and crushed her to death. This dreadful murder was in January 1705, neither magistrates nor minister during these shameful doings of three hours interposing to stay the fury of the people. Though the Privy Council made inquiry into the outrage, the ringleaders only withdrew for a while and then returned, all being condoned by bailies, minister, and elders, who regretted their vehemence but respected their zeal.[1]

Other cases occurred where the law was carried out, as years went by, in all legal formality with a rigour which even Pittenweem saints could not surpass. It was in 1727 that the last capital sentence was carried out against witchcraft. Two women in Sutherland were condemned to death by the sheriff—a mother having been found clearly guilty of riding upon her daughter, who had been transformed into a pony and shod by the devil. The daughter escaped judgment, though it was noticed, as confirmation of the charge, that she ever after was "lame in both hands and feet"; but her mother was burned in a pitch barrel at Dornoch—tradition telling how, in the cold day, the poor creature warmed her feet at the fire which was to kindle her barrel-coffin.[2] By that time, however, a more reasonable spirit was passing over the educated classes, and more and more were these outrageous charges discredited; medical experience was beginning at last to relegate to the nerves, to hysteria, or catalepsy, what had hitherto been assigned to Satan; legal authorities were sifting vague gossip with a rationalism which left no residuum of diabolical elements behind; country gentlemen, coming more in contact with the world, were shaking off their rural superstitions, and only to the rustic and fanatical were left the old terrors and Biblical belief in the out-worn crime of witchcraft.

[1] Dunbar's *Social Life;* Chambers' *Domestic Annals*, iii. 298.

[2] Burt's *Letters from the North*, i. 230; Kirkpatrick Sharpe's *Introduction to Law's Memorials.*

Folly and credulity, however, take an unconscionable time in dying, and even in 1733 Mr. Forbes, professor of law in Glasgow College, was unable to divest himself of a decaying conviction. Carefully he lays down in his *Institutes of Law*,[1] as he had done to his students, the evidence in which cases should be properly investigated, whether respecting "black witches," who by the power of hell work harm, or "white witches," who by the same assistance work cures. He points out the grave importance of testimony that a person had been attacked by illness after a woman had invoked a curse, or had been relieved by the woman who had taken his hand and moved her lips; that she had entered a room when doors and windows were barred, and had laid her hands on the breast at which a child was suckled who died in half an hour. Proof by law, he showed, was allowed that a woman was currently reported to be a witch, that she could not shed tears, could not repeat the Lord's prayer, and had devil's marks upon her body. On the other hand, the fact that a person was bewitched was proved by his being exceedingly tormented in saying of prayers and graces, by his telling events, past, present, and to come, in his fits, which he knew not at other times. Still stronger proof was afforded by the physician finding the patient's trouble could not proceed from bodily distemper, and that his remedies intensified instead of lessening the disease—a kind of evidence in those days of deplorable medical incapacity which would have proved that more than two-thirds of the community were hopelessly bewitched. But, in fact, whatever infallible symptoms might be cited by this sapient professor, the confirmation was everywhere if there was superstition, and it was nowhere if there was common sense.

It was a terrible blow to the credulous and pious when the old Act against witchcraft was abolished in 1736, and, instead of death being passed on all "traffickers with Satan," there was a prosaic, rational statute left, making liable to a year's imprisonment and three months in the pillory all vulgar practisers of occult arts "who pretended to tell fortunes and discover stolen goods."[2]

[1] *Institutes of Scots Law*, by Mr. William Forbes, advocate, professor of law, p. 372.

[2] Hume's *Commentaries on Criminal Law*, 1798, i. 488.

While the State was punishing criminals in accordance with the desires of the Church, the Church itself was fostering some criminals for the State—these were the child-murderers.[1] Elsewhere has been shown how this crime increased, through the terror in women of undergoing the hated ordeal of discipline before the gaze of the congregation for immorality.[2] It was as rife in Episcopal days as in Presbyterian, for the same inquisitorial system and rigorous discipline existed under both ecclesiastical reigns. The number of executions of wretched women who had killed their offspring in hopes of escaping this ignominy shows to what an extent infanticide was common, sometimes three or four being hanged at the same time. Juries had difficulty in determining whether an infant's death was due to natural causes or to wilful purpose, and shrank from the task of deciding a matter on which hung the issue of life or death. In 1690[3] an Act had, therefore, been passed which removed all ground for hesitancy in juries, making the woman liable to death who concealed the birth of her child, should it be either dead or missing. Such a law seems, however, rather to have increased the number of executions than to have lessened the number of delinquents. Not till late in the

[1] Hume's *Commentaries*, i. 217; Erskine's *Principles of Law of Scot.* 1754, p. 478; Arnot's *Criminal Trials*, p. 311.

[2] See *ante*, p. 57. Lord Fountainhall, in noticing the execution of Margaret Tait for child murder in 1681, remarks, "They say she declared one of the many temptations which induced her to murder her child was to shun the ignominy of the church pillory, which the Duke of York, hearing and informing himself of our custom, and that it was owned in no other place of the Christian world, and it rather made scandals than lessened them, and that it was not used for drunkenness, Sabbath breaking, lying, or other enormities, the Duke was displeased, and said it would be more efficacious restraint if the civil magistrate were to punish them either with a pecuniary mulct or corporal punishment." In that year on January 24 seven women were executed for child murder in Edinburgh at one time. On March 7, March 11, April 13, there was an execution for the same offence. In 1705 "four women from Aberdeen" hanged. In 1714, on June 18, June 24, July 3, executions took place.—"Records from the old Tolbooth," *Scottish Journal*, i. pp. 265, 299, 313.—Fountainhall's *Decisions*, i. 137.

[3] Hume's *Commentaries*, i. 217. On this law the story of the *Heart of Midlothian* rests: "If any woman shall conceal her being with child during the whole space, and shall not call or make use of help and assistance in the birth, the child being found dead or missing, the woman shall be holden and repute the murderer of her own child, though there be no appearance of bruise or wound upon the body of the child."

century, when under a more moderate clergy, the severity of Church discipline was relaxed, did the cases of child murder diminish. It may be that the abolition of congregational censure did not cause fewer hapless children coming undesirably into this world, but it at least prevented so many being untimely despatched to the next.

II

In the early part of the century the turbulent element was to be found in the swarms of "randy beggars, thiggers, Egyptian, sorners," who haunted outlying districts of the country, and incessantly infested villages, and visited the homes of the people to the terror of their lives and with the plunder of their goods. In former times there were off-hand measures taken for dealing with these vagabonds, statutes still existing which allowed any master of a pit, salt-pans, or mine, to seize them and force them to work as life-long serfs in their service. When Fletcher of Salton prescribed slavery as a drastic remedy for beggary, he was propounding no novel or whimsical scheme, but simply urging that existing laws should be enforced on the 200,000 sturdy prowling beggars, who were pests and dangerous to the community.[1] The stalwart republican, however, went further than advocating compulsory slavery; he also urged compulsion on masters to take slaves. At the beginning of the century instances occurred of men, who were scoundrels or escaped hanging for thefts, being consigned as perpetual servants in the silver mines and pits of Scotland,[2] where they were bound as slaves, wearing iron collars riveted round their necks, on which was inscribed their name, their crime, and their owner.[3] Vagabonds who were not con-

[1] Hume's *Commentaries*, i. 561; Macritchie's *Gypsies in Scotland;* Forbes' *Institutes*, p. 79.

[2] Acts of Scots Parl. 1607, 1611, 1665.—*Edinburgh Rev.*, Jany. 1899, ("Modern Slavery in Scotland").

[3] Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scot.* ii. 519. In 1701 four persons convicted at Perth escaped death by accepting perpetual servitude. One of these, used as a worker in the silver mines in a glen of Ochils, had round his neck a collar with the inscription: "Alexander Stuart found guilty of theft at Perth the 5th Dec. 1701, and gifted by the justiciars as perpetual servant to Sir J.

demned to this fate were burnt through the ear with an iron and banished the county; for magistrates were quite satisfied that they had done their duty when they had rid their own district of a nuisance, and had sent him to rob the next, under penalty of being hanged if he returned. More dangerous "Egyptians" were "banished furth of Scotland," while those caught in act of theft were regarded as "notorious thieves" and straightway hanged.[1]

Harsh as much of the penal code was, it was far from cruel, and was infinitely milder than that of England. Though robbery (theft with violence or terrorism) was liable to penalty of death, even when the article was of trifling value, ordinary thieving called "pickery" received no capital sentence unless the thief was "by habit and repute," or after a third offence.[2] Contrast that with the law of England. When Blackstone wrote his *Commentaries* in 1760, there were no fewer than 164 crimes which involved capital punishment, a number which was increased in the course of after years. The same measure was meted out to the man guilty of the foulest murder and the man guilty of the smallest theft, to the starving woman who snatched a loaf from a baker's window and to the boy who took "privately" from a shop or picked from a pocket a sum valued at 12d.

While lords of session administered justice in the High Courts at Edinburgh, at their stated times they went on circuit to county towns. They proceeded on horseback along the wretched ruts which served as roads, where no coach could pass, to the peril and discomfort of venerable persons, inexpert in horsemanship, whose cloaks fluttered in the wind, and whose wigs got dishevelled, and whose three-cornered hats got awry at the everlasting jolts and stumbles and falls on the paths.

Areskine of Alloa"; this collar was dredged up in the Forth, where the man had probably drowned himself.

[1] The law was as severe against Popish priests as against thiggers, gypsies, and sorners. In 1751, in Aberdeen, Rev. Patrick Geddes, on a charge of being "by habit and repute a priest, Jesuit, and trafficking Papist," was found guilty and banished "furth of Scotland, with testificate that if he ever returned, he being still a Papist, shall suffer punishment of death."

[2] In 1750 a man was convicted of robbery and murder, and sentenced to have his right hand struck off before being hanged. The last criminal hanged in chains was a messenger at Elgin sentenced for robbing the post in 1773.

Behind them a cavalcade of clerks; and servants followed, carrying papers and books and cloaks for their lordships in their bags. While the judges were trying the greater criminals in their courts, in country towns, justices of peace had their arduous labours to preserve order, to punish offenders with penalties full of quaint barbarity of olden times. Imprisonment was seldom awarded, and only for short periods, partly from frugal dislike to expense, and partly because the jails or "thieves' holes" were only little hovels, with no jailer to guard them, and uncertain arrangements to feed their lodgers. Other punishments, however, abounded. There were for less offences the jougs or iron collars, attached to the kirk walls (though they were becoming less used), in which the culprits' necks were fastened for "ye terror to ye others," though they provided more amusement than warning to the community.[1] More excitement filled "ye others" when they heard that a criminal was to stand bareheaded at the top of the outside stair of the Tolbooth, bound with a chain, and having a label on the breast, stating, "Here I stand for theft and reset of theft," or when two miserable beings were stationed with their placards announcing in local spelling, "Thir are adulterers." Great public satisfaction was felt when a well-known offender sat upon a cuck-stool, with neck and hand in the pillory, having his ears nailed to the same, or, with still further refinement of cruelty, stood with his ear nailed till he summoned resolution to tear away his "lug with the gristle." On such occasions the crowd was great and deeply interested. Children played truant from school, the weavers left their looms, the women threw their spindles down, and ran to watch some creature having her "nose pinched,"—a process performed with an iron frame with clips which held secure the cartilage of the victim's nose.[2] A pleasant rural thrill was felt when

[1] Hector's *Judicial Records*, p. 204.

[2] Such entries are frequent in burgh records. "A. B., a notour thief, was to be pilloried, his lug nailed, and his nose pinched."—*Parish of Carluke*, p. 46; Rogers' *Social Life*, iii. 36; Wilson's *Memorials of Edin.* ii. 226. The city records are realistic at times. "March 1722.—For tow for binding Catherine M'Culloch to the tron, 2s. Scots. For a penknife for cutting off her ear, 3s. Scots." The sum of 3d. shows this must have been hired for the occasion.—*Stirling Burgh Records.*

yet another penalty was inflicted, and they saw the common hangman take his knife and cut off the bleeding ear. The tuck of a drum made everyone run to his doorstep to gaze on the locksman leading a woman, stripped to the waist, through the streets, at certain stations to flog her with his lashes, before taking her to jail,[1] for stealing lawn from a bleaching field. Relapse into immorality might incur as penalty (at recommendation of the Kirk-Session) the woman standing at the Market Cross with her head shaved, with the locksman beside her. Such penalties were a town's excitement in an age not too full of fine sensibilities, and wonderfully relieved the monotony of burghal existence.

A very frequent adjunct to such sentences by justices was that of banishment out of the town or beyond the county, while the judges sentenced criminals for theft "furth of Scotland,"—a vague destination in days before they were able to transport them to the colonies. Thus banished, with threat of being scourged or branded if they returned, offenders had a fate which in those days was virtual outlawry with the prospect of a hunted life.[2] For whither could the exile go? By law of Church and rules of Kirk-Sessions no one was allowed to reside in a parish until he produced a "testificate" from the Session of his former place, and this, of course, he could not furnish.[3] The unfortunate creature banished for stealing

[1] Thus in Paisley in 1770.—Hector's *Judicial Records*, 254.

[2] For example, in 1704 Kirk-Session of Banff inform farmers and others they must receive testificates from persons coming to their employment, and, learning there "are two idle persons of no fame" in the town, recommend the magistrates to remove them.—*Annals of Banff* (New Spalding Club), i. 76. In 1708 the officer "appointed to cite all stranger servants within the paroch to bring in the testimonials to Session."—*Morton Kirk-Session Records.*

[3] 1707, person apprehended for stealing shoes in the shoe mercat, banished the burgh of Lanark, "ordered never to be seen again in the burgh, on pain of being whipped, burned, and again banished."—*Burgh Records of Lanark.* In 1744 "husband and wife guilty of acts of theft are banished furth of the town under penalty of one year's imprisonment if they return, and to be scourged every month during said year and banished under penalty."—*Annals of Hawick*, p. 146. Even so late as 1775 the magistrates of the Gorbals at Glasgow sentenced prisoners to "be carried from prison by tuck of drum with head bare, and to be banished the village and barony of Gorbals during the whole of their natural lives, and if they return to be imprisoned, whipped, and banished,"—a sentence *pour rire* to those who know that unfascinating district to-day.—*Glasgow Past and Present*, i. 346.

a hen or an ell of linen, or for breaking a sapling, was forced to beg, if not to steal, and yet his doing so insured his at once being delated by the elders to the justices, by them to be anew scourged, and either sent to jail or again banished. If in despair he returned to his old haunts and family he might be incontinently seized, branded, imprisoned, till an impossible £100 Scots was paid, and yet rebanished again. This miserable dilemma of being driven from pillar to post existed up till near the middle of the century, when the Kirk and its elders became less rigorous, and the people less docile, and towns with growing populations afforded easier shelter and concealment for fugitives, while sentences themselves became more mild in a milder age, and prisons more able to hold offenders.

III

While the execution of laws in highest crimes lay with the judges of session, there were other courts over many districts, and especially north of the Forth, which exercised jurisdiction as full as the Court of Session. There were over a hundred Courts of Regality, in which the great owners of land throughout Scotland presided as hereditary barons or sheriffs, having power to sentence all criminals in their domain. The baron or his bailie presided over fifteen assessors as jury, and he could wield the right of punishment of pit and gallows—to hang or imprison. This tremendous power he held, bound by no legal process, restrained by no fear, guided by no precedents. However wrongly he might abuse his right, it could not be withdrawn, for it came by charter, was inherited by birth, and yet could be sold at his will. Especially high-handed and rigorous were these barons or chiefs of the Northern and Highland counties, where the voice of public opinion was never heard, and from which the grievances of victims were never borne. Whatever verdict the baron desired was obsequiously given by the servile tenants or humble tacksmen who formed the jury. If he was a friend the prisoner escaped scot free, however clear his guilt; if he was a foe, he was pretty certain to be condemned, however clear his innocence.

The records of the courts of these irresponsible hereditary sheriffs in some cases are extant, stating concisely the name of the criminal, the offence, and the verdict, whether "clenzit" or "convikt;"[1] to the latter being crisply appended the sentence, which is too often "hangit" or "drownit." At other times the sentence was to be scourged, to have his ear nailed to a post, or cut off, and banished the country. By such summary processes Grant of Grant sentenced three persons found guilty of horse-stealing to be carried from the court to the pit or dungeon of Castle Grant, there to remain till Tuesday next, and thence to be carried to the gallowstree at Ballintore, and to be hanged between three and four in the afternoon till they be dead. If a loch was near, as Loch Spynie was to Gordonston, the victim of hereditary jurisdiction was expeditiously drowned. There, for example, an unfortunate woman was put to death for stealing out of a chest thirty rex dollars and twò webs of linen, and as she was drowning she was heard (very naturally) "evacuating curses on her oppressors."[2] Each gentleman who had the cherished privilege and power had a dempster or hangman who carried out the sentences, which were executed on gallows usually erected on a moor or where two roads met; and in the local names of fields of "Gallowflat" and "Hangingshaw" there are still reminiscences of the old hanging days of these Courts of Regality. Memories of these oppressive and arbitrary measures were vivid at the end of the century, when stories were still told of the iniquitous doings of the old régime: how one hereditary sheriff acted as both judge and jury, and sentenced at his will; how another hanged a man and afterwards called his faithful jury to convict him; how yet another hanged two brothers on one tree near Abernethy, and burned their bodies on the roadside; and how a chief hanged two notorious thieves, parboiled their heads, and set them on spikes. Tradition lingered of a case

[1] 1692, a lad convicted of plundering the "socks of the plough," sentenced by bailie of court "to be nailit be the lug with ane irene naile to ane poste, and to stand ther for the spaice of ane hour without motione, and to be allowed to break the griss nailed without drawing of the nail."—From *Book of Regalty of Grant*, cited in Rogers' *Social Life of Scot.* iii. 44; Burt's *Letters*, ii. 230; Omond's *Lives of Lord Advocates*, vol. i.

[2] Dunbar's *Social Life*, 2nd series, p. 143.

where the baron bailie was so odious that the people rose in vengeance and drowned him in the Spey near Inverurie.[1]

The pit and dungeon in the castles or mansion houses were usually noisome holes. Such was the pit at Gordonston in Morayshire, victims of which appealed to the lords of session in 1740,[2] a vault cold, wet, and pitch-dark, secured by an iron grating, without door or window, so wet that the miserable inmates had to stand on stones to raise themselves above the inflowing water that covered the floor. In such a pit untried prisoners were detained for months, and there those convicted even of trifling offences were confined at the risk or cost of life. Although these hereditary barons had no right to transport their convicts, they often made a nefarious and profitable trade of sending them to the Plantations. They offered the prisoners that alternative to death, and many gladly consented to be exported, whereupon the lord of regality in the North sold his victims to those men whose business it was to secure, by means fair or foul, recruits to sell for work in the estates of America or West Indies, where they became serfs of planters, with little hope of ever recovering their freedom.[3]

It was in 1748 that all hereditable jurisdictions were abolished. After the Rebellion of '45 it was felt necessary to break down feudal power and state, especially in the Highlands; to bring under equal law and central authority all officers of justice, and to shear the chieftains of those privileges which had made them dangers to order and menaces to government. Barons and chiefs who had ruled like kings in their districts, and tyrants over their vassals, by the withdrawal of these ancient rights were suddenly reduced to mere subjects—no more superior to law than the meanest of their crofters. Not merely did this abolition involve the loss of prestige, of power, of influence on which

[1] *Statistical Acct. of Scotland*, Abernethy and Kincardine, xiii. 151. The Town Council of Perth in 1707 applies to the Earl of Perth for the loan of his hangman as being very expert in the business.—Stewart's *Sketches of Highlands*. In 1709 occur the last two cases of capital punishment by Regality Court in Galloway.—*Hereditary Sheriffs*, by Agnew, p. 494.

[2] Dunbar's *Social Life in Former Days*, 2nd series, p. 144.

[3] Burton's *Hist. of Scot.* (1688-1748), vol. ii.; Burt's *Letters*, i. 45.

they had so long prided themselves; it also implied the loss of gains hardly less coveted.[1] Baron bailies often enriched themselves by the fruits of office, which were called "duties:" a day's labour from every tenant; the goods of all persons sentenced to death; the fines of those who were convicted; the herial cow or horse at the death of each tenant—the best of the cattle being seized from the poor widow and her family. By the abolition of the Courts of Regality and of Barony all these "duties" and perquisites were lost, as were their personal glory and importance, and the dispossessed lords claimed exorbitant compensation for the loss they had sustained. They, not too modestly, estimated the equivalent at £602,127, but were obliged to be satisfied with £152,000.[2] Whatever might have been the loss to these gentlemen, it was clearly a gain to the country, which under the legal sheriffs who reigned in their stead had a chance of equity and due procedure, of fairer trials, more reasonable verdicts, and less arbitrary sentences. Yet no institutions or men, however bad, ever pass away without mourners when they die—even on the grave of Nero some unknown hand laid flowers—and sentimental lovers of ancient customs and patriarchal ways[3] joined in the lamentation with retainers who had benefited by the partiality of their lairds and lords. Some loyal tenants protested that they "aye liked gentlemen's law," preferring the possible lenity of their laird to the certain justice of the sheriff. No longer could an Earl of Galloway, as in good old days, hold his court and sentence in a trice criminals caught "red-hand." "Yerl John," exclaimed one vigorous admirer, "was the man! He'd hang them up just o' his ain word: nane o' your law!"[4]

[1] *Stat. Acct. Scot.* xiii. 151; Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, p. 529.

[2] The Duke of Hamilton claimed £38,000 and got £3000; Lord Galloway claimed £6000 and got £321; Lord Selkirk claimed £33,000, but got nothing. —Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriffs*, p. 429.

[3] Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands*, 1775, p. 205.

[4] Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriffs*, p. 608. On the banks of the Spey, when a poor man was found guilty by his master, the proprietor of Ballindalloch, and put into the pit till the gallows was prepared, he drew a short sword and declared he would kill the first man that put a hand on him, his wife remonstrated and prevailed on him with the argument: "Come up quietly and be hanged, and do not anger the laird."—Hall's *Travels in Scotland*, ii. 404.

IV

In 1758 the country was made aware of strange criminal practices in the North, which had been carried on for years with extraordinary impunity. Peter Williamson, having returned from an adventurous career among the Cherokee Indians, published his life and adventures; narrating how he had been kidnapped in Aberdeen when eleven years old, had been carried off with many others to America, where he was sold for £16 to a planter, and after curious vicissitudes was captured by Indians, from whom he escaped after marvellous experiences. The revelations in this book opened the eyes of the world—too late—to a nefarious traffic which had lasted for several years, in which men in high public position had daringly shared. Strange things happened in remote quarters in those days, of which the Lowlands knew nothing. In 1732 Lady Grange had been kidnapped from Edinburgh by Highlanders in the pay of her husband, who wanted to get rid of a woman half-mad and a drunkard, with a wild tongue which might reveal secrets to endanger the neck of this professing Whig, who was an intriguing Jacobite; of this pretended saint who was a worthless libertine. Away in the wilds of the Highlands she was kept, while Lord Grange, asserting she was dead, celebrated her funeral; far away in the lonely island of St. Kilda and other dreary retreats, she lingered till her forlorn days were ended. The Highlands kept their secrets well, and when the world heard the tale it only shrugged its shoulders. In the North, too, as we have seen, lords of regality illegally made profits by selling prisoners to agents, who shipped them to work in the plantations. Now Peter Williamson's story disclosed that not only in wild distant straths, but also in the civilised districts of Aberdeenshire, a criminal traffic had been practised in face of the law.

Between 1740 and 1746 a regular trade existed of supplying hands to the American settlements, where they were sold. Rascally companies were formed to carry on the business, and year after year ships left the ports with bands

of luckless youths, who had been inveigled or coerced into transportation—few ever returning to tell the story of their capture or their fate. Many were stolen; some were deluded by gross falsehoods; others in the days of destitution in the North were even sold by their parents for a shilling to these kidnappers.[1] They came to cajole and to ensnare the simple; pipers accompanied them to make the village rustics merry in the change-house; and poor creatures were "enlisted" when they were drunk. So bold were some of those kidnappers that their press-gang passed along the village streets and country roads and seized boys whom they met. In the silence of the night lads were taken from their beds in remote cottages, and parents were afraid to let their children out of doors when darkness set in. Some of these scoundrels were in the pay of esteemed bailies in Aberdeen,—for magistrates were not above a trade which Highland chiefs did not despise. The entrapped were raw youths deceived by their captors as to their destination, even children not above six years old. They were brought along in droves, shut up at night in some barn, where they were encouraged to play cards to divert their attention, while bagpipes played stirring tunes to keep their courage up. Strange to say, the workhouse and the Tolbooth prison were lent to detain these stolen or inveigled victims, till the number was sufficient for a cargo and the ship was ready to sail. Mothers rushed through the streets, and stood hopelessly outside the doors, calling out frantic farewells to their sons within, and uttering curses on their captors. To invoke the aid of police or magistrates was useless; for those who tried to rescue their children were threatened with the jail and frightened into silence; and when one person did venture to raise an action before the Court of Session, not an officer in Aberdeen dared to summon the parties to appear, well knowing that men in position, dangerous to displease, were flagrant offenders.

It is impossible to ascertain how many victims were kidnapped; but, as the trade continued with impunity for several

[1] *Book of Bon Accord*, p. 86. The practice of selling children arose out of the terrible poverty in the famine of 1740. Entries occur like the following: "To R. Ross for listing his son, 1s." "To Maclean for listing his son, 1s. 6d."

years, the number must have amounted to hundreds. The "emigrants" were sold to planters, and bound to serve for five or seven years; and should they desert from their masters —which cruelty often drove them to do—they were liable to another year's servitude if absent for thirty days. Such were the iniquities brought to light by Peter Williamson. When he returned to Aberdeen, where his revelations were causing embarrassing excitement, he was charged with calumniating honourable citizens and bailies; the obnoxious pages of his book were torn out, and burned by the common hangman; he himself was fined 10s., and dismissed the virtuous city as a vagrant.[1] Although the returned serf raised an action for redress and was awarded £100 as damages, the real culprits escaped and lived on their gains, and the iniquitous magistrates neither lost their private profits nor forfeited public respect.[2]

V

During the eighteenth century—and especially during its latter half—the amount of serious crime among the people was singularly small; there were drunken brawls in plenty, with fatal results; immorality, which was very rife, especially among the peasantry; but of the greater and more dangerous offences there were comparatively few; for life was quiet in the rural quarters, towns were small and under easy surveillance, and free from dangerous classes. Glasgow was singularly well ordered, and in Edinburgh a burglary was through years an unheard-of event.[3] Nor can this burghal peace and security be attributed to the efficiency or vigilance of police. Glasgow had its police of worthy citizens, who from 10 at night till 3 o'clock in the morning patrolled the silent streets—less a terror to evil doers than in terror of them. Edinburgh had its decrepit city guard armed with Lochaber axes, whose ineffectual legs any novice in criminal

[1] *Book of Bon Accord*, pp. 86-93; Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, ii. 186; Kay's *Original Portraits*, i. 187.

[2] Peter Williamson became a well-known eccentric character in Edinburgh. He was compiler of the first Edinburgh Directory, and founder of Edinburgh Penny Post.

[3] Creech's *Fugitive Pieces*, p. 106; Reid's *Works*, edit. by Hamilton, p. 40.

craft could easily defy to chase him in the dark wynds and closes of the High Street. Howard, when at the end of the century he visited Scotland, was struck by the small number of persons in the jails, which he attributed to causes more or less complimentary to the people and the Church. An execution was a rare event, and three years passed by (1773-1776) without any one being hanged in Edinburgh, though the offences of robbery were liable to death sentence. On an average of twenty years previously to 1793 the executions in all Scotland did not exceed six in a year, and for fifteen years before 1782 only three persons were hanged in Edinburgh every two years.[1] Contrast that with the state of crime in England—making all allowance for its larger population—where it was not uncommon for forty persons to be sentenced at one assize to be hanged, and where sometimes ten or a dozen criminals suffered death on one day. A public execution there was a popular amusement which, in spite of its frequency, never seemed to pall. Besides the code of Scotland being milder—condemning to banishment or prison for offences which incurred death south of the Border—the more lenient Scots system gave discretionary power to judges to give alternative and modified sentences according to the youth, the condition, the temptation of the prisoner—death to one, flogging to another, or transportation to a third;[2] while in England every crime had its assigned penalty, which was inflicted whatever the extenuating circumstances might have been. With complacency, therefore, Baron Hume remarks, "I repeat without fear of contradiction that generally our system is eminently gentle."

Quiet and law-abiding as the Lowlands were, it might be expected that a very different characteristic belonged to the Highlands; yet witnesses say that crimes were few, remarkably few, among the Highlanders. That they fought fiercely with men of another sept on occasion; that they "lifted" the

[1] Hume's *Commentaries*, i. 11; Creech's *Fugitive Pieces*, p. 107; Arnot's *Hist. of Edin.* p. 690.

[2] "Sometimes forgery was punished with death, sometimes by transportation, the theft of cattle according to circumstances was visited by banishment, by imprisonment or other inferior penalty, instead of capital punishment."—Hume's *Commentaries*.

cattle from a hostile clan or made a foray on an alien Lowlander with placid conscience is true, as the exploits of Rob Roy testify; but[1] it is said that cases of theft from dwelling-houses seldom occurred, highway robberies were unknown, the people lived with their property safe without bolts or bars, and in the houses of the chiefs and lairds in time of peace no security was needed, and in many a mansion not a door was locked. So describes Stewart of Garth the Highlands of the eighteenth century, though he notes a moral deterioration in his countrymen in the tone and manners assumed by the close of the century.

It seems strange, notwithstanding this immunity from capital offences, that a locksman or common hangman was a town's necessary official; but the chief occupation of this functionary was as jailer of the petty prisoners, and flogger of the culprits, when scourging was a common penalty for stealing a hen off a midden head, or a shirt from a hedge. Up to a late part of the century this official was entitled as wages to a handful or lock from every sack of grain[2] that came to the market, from which he got his name of "locksman," and when he entered on his office in later years he had a timber or iron ladle presented to him wherewith to measure his lock or handful from each sack. These worthies were persons of civic importance and noted figures from their punitive powers and their distinctive dress. In Edinburgh the hangman was conspicuous in the streets, dressed in his gray bonnet and black velvet coat trimmed with silver lace.[3] In the Tolbooth Kirk on Sundays he was to be seen in his seat apart from all other worshippers, and when the communion was celebrated he, like a social leper, received the sacrament at a special table when all the other communicants had retired.

Prisons in old times were everywhere scandals to humanity and disgraces to civilisation, and wretched though they were in Scotland they certainly were in no worse state

[1] Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlands*, 1822, i. 36-39.

[2] In Dumfries market in 1781 a grain merchant resisted the burgh executioner in his attempt to open his sacks. Although the merchant was imprisoned, the privilege in 1796 was withdrawn as the result of continued complaint.—M'Dowall's *Dumfries*, p. 694; *Book of Bon Accord*, p. 159.

[3] Chambers' *Traditions of Edin.* ii. 184.

than in England. In England they were nests of infamy, which brought forth vice and nursed it, and became centres of moral pollution—pest-houses which bred diseases of the most deadly and loathsome kind—places where the least guilty suffered incalculably more for their slight offences than the most hardened felons for their foulest crimes. Compared with this the state of Scottish jails was almost respectable. The prisoners were few, the terms of imprisonment were short, and if the jails were often miserable hovels they were never crowded. The worst fate was borne by bankrupts, debtors, or "dyvours," who were treated with a severity curiously out of harmony with a penal code which had some features of kindliness. They were liable to be put in the stocks, to be put on bread and water for a month and then scourged. At the beginning of the century in towns were to be seen men clad in strange piebald attire—bonnet and hose, half yellow, half brown. These were dishonest debtors who were released on surrendering their goods, but compelled to wear this garb all their days.[1] In prison everything was done to intensify their discomfort. Even when ill they were deprived of the privilege of all fresh air, which the worst felons might breathe; for in the interests of impatient creditors, who paid 3d. a day for their maintenance in jail, they were expressly confined to the *squalor carceris*, to the misery, the dirt, of the noisome and pestilential room which formed their prison, denied every privilege which all other criminals enjoyed.[2]

The receptacle for prisoners in a village was a "thieves' hole," a little hut with damp earthen floor, with hardly a glimmer of light from the tiny opening, through which the snow drifted and the wind swirled in mad career through the room, and out again, under and above the ill-fitting doors,—through a hole in which the wife of the constable, intent on

[1] Act 1688. *Acts of Sederunt*, 1740, p. 161. On day of release these debtors "with the foresaid habit shall sitt on the dyvour's stone for the space of ane hour," "at the mercat cross."

[2] "Debtors in prison ought not to be indulged by the magistrates or jailers with the benefit of air; for the creditors have an interest that their debtors be kept under close confinement, that by *squalor carceris* they may be brought to pay their debts."—Erskine's *Principles of Scots Law*, 1756, p. 461. The creditor was bound to aliment his debtor in jail, if he was without resources.

other avocations, thrust the food for the inmates. A small country town had for its residence for prisoners a vile thatched room, perhaps fourteen feet long, dark, filthy, and fireless, and in winter perishingly cold, where for months untried prisoners waited till the circuit court opened to hear their case; while for security they were sometimes loaded with chains and fastened to an iron bar or bedstead.[1] In country towns, however, the tedium of long waiting and long seclusion was relieved by rough revelry. In places like Stirling and Perth convicts indulged in olden times in their rude carouses,[2] the money allotted for the food of criminals and debtors being often applied to buy drink; and felons with sympathetic friends got from the jailers, at thrice their normal price, refreshments of ale and whisky, and had merry meetings in which their warders joined heartily at the prisoners' cost. When funds were low and luxuries scarce they might, as in Ayr, let down from the prison windows a box inscribed with the legend, "Pity the poor prisoners," into which compassionate passers-by dropped tobacco, or small coins, or a bottle of drink for further regalement.

The guard over these hovel prisons was not always efficient, and it not seldom happened that the inmates suddenly vanished. So from Aberdeen Tolbooth the convicts quietly disappeared, and put on the doors the intimation, "Lodgings to let." The historian of that city in 1792 naïvely records, as if a mere matter of commonplace, "There are no convicts in jail, the whole persons of that description having lately made their escape."[3] When describing the Tolbooth of Edinburgh—the "Heart of Midlothian"—Hugo Arnot shows its most deplorable[4] state — without ventilation, without drainage, with unmentionable filth in every corner, with rooms

[1] This Gurney found at Haddington and Forfar when visiting with Mrs. Fry the jails of Scotland in 1818.

[2] In 1693 the Town Council of Ayr ineffectually enacted that "prisoners within the Tolbooth be discharged from holding any feasts, treats, or banquets within the prison, and that no persons above the number of one shall be allowed to dine or sup with any such prisoner."—Paterson's *Hist. of Ayrshire*, i. 194.

[3] *Book of Bon Accord* [by Joseph Robertson], p. 214; Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, i. 405; Burt's *Letters from the North*, i. 45.

[4] Arnot's *Hist. of Edin.* p. 360; Skene's *Sketches*, 1829, p. 78.

where children were confined in air so pestilential that no visitor could for a minute abide it, or venture in, with straw which served as beds, worn to little chips from long use, by a constant succession of uncleanly occupants. The richer prisoners, meanwhile, had their carousals with their friends, while warders joined the festivity and shared the liquor for which they had caused their hosts to pay so dear. Such was the state of matters when John Howard visited this and other Scottish prisons—then he found poor convicts in Edinburgh,[1] in "a horrid cage," chained to an iron bar—probably the massive cage of wood in which unruly prisoners were confined. The strange fact is that in the prisons he found far more debtors than criminals, who in the stench, darkness, and dirt were detained at the charge and cost of their creditors. In 1779, in the Edinburgh Tolbooth there were thirteen debtors and nine felons; in Glasgow, in 1782, Howard found eighteen debtors and only five felons—which shows that the rising commerce of the west had led some too venturous citizens beyond their own and other people's means, but had done little as yet to foster crime.

As the century wore on many of the more quaint peculiarities of Scottish rules and penalties disappeared,—the cutting and carving of ears, the public flogging of women, the banishment "furth" of city or county (which would have then been a great boon to a felon), the shaving of heads, fines for Sabbath-breaking, for cursing and imprecations,—all these vanished from the civic code; and by the end of the century laws which still remained on statute had become dead letters; many homely methods and odd barbarities of local law in town and country passed away, after remaining unaltered and operative for long generations.[2]

[1] Howard's *State of Prisons*, Appendix, 1784, pp. 96, 150. Aberdeen prison was "almost a loathsome dungeon," containing 15 debtors, 8 delinquents, and a lunatic.—Kennedy, i. 405. Even in 1812, Neild (*State of Prisons*) found old hovels, filthy and every way offensive, serving as jails in county towns.

[2] The last case of flogging in the streets in Glasgow was in 1793.—*Glasgow Past and Present*, i. 339.

CHAPTER XV

PROGRESS OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE

I

It was on a bright warm day in July 1698 that the shores and pier of Leith were thronged with dense crowds of people, whose cheers rose loud and jubilant as a tiny fleet of three vessels, with a crew of 1200 picked men, hoisted sail to cross the Atlantic. This was the first of the expeditions that went forth to Darien as to an El Dorado.

The scheme had been formed in the fertile brain of William Paterson to found a colony on the Isthmus of Darien which should be a Scots centre of a world-wide trade, extending away from both shores of the continent, commanding the Pacific on one side and the Atlantic on the other, connecting the commerce of Europe with that of China. It was a magnificent project conceived in no exclusive spirit, though it was designed to lift Scotland out of her impoverished state, to develop her industry, to get customers for her goods and careers for her sons. In the patriotic enthusiasm with which the scheme was hailed, £400,000 were subscribed—equal to two-thirds of all the coin circulating in the country; vessels had been chartered from Holland, and manufactures from the various towns had been sent in for exportation to these new golden fields of commerce. Perth sent its leather-work and gloves, and Kilmarnock its blue bonnets; Aberdeen furnished stockings, and Dunkeld plaids and tartans; Musselburgh contributed its serges, and Dunfermline its huckabacks; Culross provided its gridirons, for "Culross girdles" were used in every

castle and cottage; Edinburgh supplied linen, tobacco pipes, bobwigs, and periwigs. Never was there such an incongruous assortment of wares to carry beyond the seas; seldom one with a display of native products from a civilised country so pathetically humble.

Two years passed by, and other vessels, their crews filled with high hopes and their holds filled with absurd cargoes, crossed the ocean. But in the summer of 1700 tidings confirming ugly rumours came of the failure of this proud venture. The people were dumfounded, for everything to their simple minds seemed to have been done, not merely to deserve, but also to command, success. Goods of all sorts, from swords to Penicuick "gray paper," from plaiding to salt herring, had been stored. Ministers, too, of the most orthodox complexion —reclaimed Cameronians—had been exported to preserve order and instil piety into a ribbald lot; and these worthies modelled the colony on the ideal plan of a Presbyterian parish —elders, with their discipline, sessions and the stools of repentance, Wednesday services, humiliation days, sacramental fasts, when the three ministers in succession preached for hours on a stretch, and worship was conducted in rooms where the humid heat was stifling; ardent pleasures had been rebuked as gross sins and colonial troubles treated as judgments of heaven.[1] In spite of all these helpful agencies, ruin came, for Paterson had reckoned without his host of foes—swamps and jungles, fevers and hunger, cargoes without customers, and settlers without settlements; disorders of the emigrants and dissensions of their leaders; attacks from Spaniards whose territory had been invaded; jealousy of English, whose monopoly of trade was imperilled; opposition from the Crown that treated them as pirates and hampered them at every turn. Few returned from this ill-managed, ill-fated expedition, and little was left, except unnumbered graves in the swamps of Darien and fierce anger in the breasts of Scotsmen, who raged at the English as the authors of all their woe.[2]

[1] Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain*, 1790, iii. 136; *Hist. of Darien*, by Francis Borland (one of the ministers), 1776, pp. 39, 89.

[2] Dalrymple's *Memoirs*; *Darien Papers* (Bannatyne Club); Burton's *Hist. of Scotland* (1688-1748), vol. i.

Thus began and thus ended Scotland's first and last attempt to form an independent trade and commerce for itself. Poor, miserably poor, as it had been before, it was far poorer now. Although only £225,000 of the subscriptions had been paid up from the pockets of sanguine nobles and lairds, professors, doctors, ministers, and merchants,[1] a sum which before the end of the century many a rich trader could have paid out of his own fortune, it was felt as a calamity which brought poverty to the whole nation, while it dashed all its hopes of prosperity to the ground.

At the beginning of the century the country was in dire poverty—a famishing people, a stagnant trade, rude manufactures, and profitless industries. Glasgow was a small city of 12,500 inhabitants, which had a slender trade in exporting salt fish and coarse woollen stuff and tarred rope, and a crude industry in making rough plaiding. Paisley[2] was a long row of thatched dwellings, whose 2600 inhabitants depended on spinning yarn on rock and reel, which was woven at hand looms by eighty-seven weavers, who sold their stuff at the cross in the markets to English pedlars. Greenock, with a population of 1500, was a collection of rude cottages, with a business consisting in fishing for salmon and herrings in the Clyde. Ayrshire had no manufactures except of blue and black bonnets at Stewarton, and a coarse woollen stuff called "Kilmarnocks,"[3] made in the mean dirty village of "houses little better than huts, built so low that their eaves hang dangling to touch the earth," in which 2000 people dwelt.[4] A little boat, valued at £40 Scots, formed the mercantile navy of Ayr, and the entrance once or twice a year of a little vessel with iron or timber from Norway constituted its whole foreign traffic.[5] Northwards there was Dundee, which then was a poor little town with a trade in coarse plaiding exported undressed to Germany and Sweden for clothing to

[1] Some merchants in Glasgow were able to venture £1000 each.

[2] *New Stat. Acct. of Scot.*, Paisley; Crawford's *Shire of Renfrew*, 1710.

[3] Even so late as 1760.—Fullerton's *Survey of Ayrshire*, 1797.

[4] *Northern Memoirs*, writ in the year 1658 by Richard Franck, Philanthropus, 1821, p. 101.

[5] *Records of Convention of Royal Burghs*, 1677-1711, pp. 563-667, gives reports on their trade from several towns in 1692, revealing great poverty.

soldiers; and even in the middle of the century, when it had a population of 6000, there was no shop rented over £2 or £3, and it had "not above four houses at the Cross completely built of stone, all the rest being partly wood."[1] Aberdeen, busy making stockings and fingrams from tarred-wool, bore little likeness to the stateliness of modern days in the shabby streets of wood-faced houses and long lanes of mean, low, turf-covered dwellings.[2] Worse still was the capital of the Highlands, for Inverness consisted chiefly of mere hovels, thatched with turf with bottomless baskets serving as chimneys, there being only a few houses of stone and lime, thatched without, and dark and mean within. Even in 1730 it had only a street or two of houses with unsashed windows, the lower part of wood and the upper part glazed, the rest of the dwellings being still rows of hovels. The few shops were dark rooms with earthen floors, containing hogsheads of brandy (smuggled), firkins of butter (well mingled with cow hairs), and tartan plaids, presided over by a merchant, who might be proud of his ancestry and high connections, but not too proud to sell serges by the ell and pigtail tobacco by the ounce. At the five annual fairs—the only mediums for barter—there were pathetic evidences of penury, the "principal dealers bringing a roll of linen or a piece of coarse plaiding under their arms," others two cheeses of two or three pounds each, a kid which sold at 8d., or butter in a sort of bladder which was put in the dirt of the streets, three or four goats' skins, a piece of wood for wheel axle-trees. The money was spent on a horn or a wood spoon, a knife, a plate, or an onion which was sometimes eaten on the spot raw.[3] Such is Captain Burt's description of local trade from 1726 to 1736, causing him to exclaim, "Good God! you could not conceive such misery in this island."

A few towns there were then with comparatively flourishing industries which redeemed the country from utter stagnation, such as Aberdeen, Stirling, and Musselburgh, with their woollen fabrics, Dunfermline with its fine linen, and its boast

[1] *Stat. Acct. of Scot.* viii. 232.
[2] Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, i. 276.
[3] Burt's *Letters from the North*, 1815, i. 59-78.

in 1702 that one of its weavers had made a seamless shirt of linen. But there was not enough employment for its people —young men in great numbers left the country seeking work abroad in the colonies, rather than starve at home. The most prosperous industry in the country had been fishing for the cod and herring that swarmed on the shores, which were dried or salted for export; or in catching the salmon abounding in the rivers, sold at 1d. a lb., and furnishing food in mansions for the servants, until their palates were weary, and they refused to taste them more than thrice a week. All this was in the days before social changes had sorely depopulated the rivers by agriculture draining the land, by linen factories steeping poisonous flax in the water, by the growth of towns which polluted the once clear streams, by reckless killing in breeding time, a seemingly inexhaustible source of food and trade, which in consequence became a rarity and a luxury.[1]

With industries so few and arts so primitive, the trade of the country in the early part of the century was on the most insignificant scale. Only ninety-three vessels, with a combined tonnage of 6000, and the largest of only 180 tons[2]—which were made in Holland or the Baltic, owing to scarcity or inaccessibility of timber at home—were engaged in the foreign trade. And their cargoes, whether sent to Holland, Spain, or France, were monotonous consignments of miserable "gray oats," barley from their poor stores, dried cod, red herrings, stockings, tarred rope and serges, and "wicked candles." A few merchants, greatly daring, sent their little vessels to the coasts of Barbary, in which perilous regions corsairs pounced upon the slow-sailing barks, and captured crews which were more valuable for sale than their cargoes of linen, lead, and woollen stockings—for which last article the demand could

[1] "The Firth [of Forth] relieves the country with her great plenty of salmon, where the burgomasters, as in many other parts of Scotland, are compelled to reinforce an old statute (?) that commands all masters and others not to force any servants or apprentices to feed upon salmon more than once thrice a week." —P. 133, *Northern Memoirs*, written in 1658 by Richard Franck, Philanthropus, 1821; *Present State of Scotland*, 1754; Burt's *Letters*, i. 112.

[2] Defoe's *Hist. of Union*, 1712; Cochrane Patrick's *Mediæval Scotland*, p. 150.

not have been clamorous.[1] Still more adventurous were those who sent off to the Guinea coast wares of Scots or English produce of "linen and woollen cloth, knives, scissors, looking-glasses and other toyes, strong waters, tobacco, beads, peuther (pewter) dishes, Glasgow plaids and blew bonnets"—which "may do for their kings and queens," naïvely suggests Mr. John Spruell, merchant and dealer in red herrings in Glasgow, where he was known as "Bass John" from his imprisonment on the Bass Rock.

After all, these present a poor bill of fare for the world's consumption, and a poor off-set for those imports which the Scots required, and to pay for which sorely drained their scanty stock of money. Meanwhile to England they were sending slate, linen cloth, coal, salt and dried fish, Galloway horses, and droves of emaciated black cattle, which were sold to English graziers for any price from 10s. to £1.

Scarcity of money was a chronic complaint throughout the century, but never so bad as then, and Defoe says there were hardly any gold coins to be seen. It is said that in the cellars and warehouses were goods in plenty, but no money wherewith to pay the duties. The amount of coin circulating in Scotland was revealed when, after the Union all Scots, English milled, and foreign silver coin was called in. Money of standard English was to be issued in their stead. The sum sent in to the Bank of Scotland amounted only to £411,117; and we may reckon that the whole coin in the land was probably under £600,000 sterling—if we estimate the silver withheld, the scanty amount of gold existing, and the large amount of miserable worn copper coins in circulation, as equal to £150,000. So that the entire money of a million of a population was a sum equalled by the fortune of many a private merchant in the next century.[2]

[1] *Accompt Current betwixt Scotland and England*, balanced by J[ohn] S[pruell], Edin. 1705.

[2] Ruddiman's *Introduction to Anderson's Diplomata*. As there was the utmost difficulty of getting silver, and gold was almost never seen,—having gone out of the country to pay for goods imported,—Ruddiman's estimate that there was as much money left in circulation as was sent in is far less probable than that of Chambers, which we adopt—namely, £30,000 in gold, £60,000 in copper, and £60,000 in silver not sent in for reminting.—*Domestic Annals*, iii. 332.

II

The Union of 1707 came about, and while the English despised the alliance, which a southern Commissioner superciliously likened to wedding a beggar with a louse for her portion, the Scots denounced it as destructive of Scottish independence, Scottish trade, Scottish pride—in short, of every glory and appanage that was Scottish. From the South came custom officers, whose very accent and presence were hateful; they watched every transaction with a keen suspicion, so different from the manner of the easy times in which the revenues of £160,000[1] had been collected when a Scotsman farmed them; and the nation bitterly complained that their money was used to feed the families of needy English cormorants.[2] Heavy salt duties were levied, and the deep-sea fisheries were crushed. No industry had been of old so prosperous as the industries in the Moray Firth and the coasts of Fife, where fleets of vessels had been busy on the sea, and villagers astir curing and drying their fish on the shore; but now, with hard duties and irritating exactions, the trade well-nigh became extinct on the east shores. Villages like Crail, Anstruther, Pittenweem, fell into stagnation, while in the offing were Dutch busses with their broad-beamed hulls catching the fish before the fishermen's eyes. From lack of work, these places became haunts of smuggling, in which every man and woman felt it honourable to join, and to despoil the English of their tribute. So late as 1750, while Dutchmen had 150 vessels fishing off the coast,—working what they called their "gold mines,"—the Scots had only two vessels, manned by thirty-three men and boys.[3]

One great privilege Scotland gained by the Union was the removing of the prohibition against trading with the English colonies. Hitherto no Scots trading vessels dared set sail

[1] Revenues and public income of Scotland in 1705 were £160,000, those of England were £5,691,003, Customs of Scotland amounted to £30,000, and Excise, £33,500; while the Customs of England were £1,452,000, and Excise, £677,765.—Pp. 388-390, Bruce's *Report*, 1799.

[2] *Lockhart Papers*, p. 224.

[3] Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, p. 330; Macpherson's *Annals*, iii. p. 347.

for these shores, the preserves of England, nor any vessel to carry cargoes from any English port unless two-thirds of the crew were English-born. Now this embargo was lifted off, and within a generation the trade with Virginia and the Indies was to bring fortune to Glasgow, and a rich commerce was to rise which Scots Commissioners little foresaw, when in the initial negotiations for the Union they had modestly claimed only that four of their vessels in the year might set forth to trade with the colonies, as crumbs from their rich neighbour's table.[1]

In the early years of the century woollen stuffs were the chief produce of the people. Spinning was the occupation of all the women, rich and poor, in bedroom and kitchen of the mansion, as well as the hovel of the peasant. From the wool got from the thin, short tar-clotted fleeces of the sheep was made the yarn which the weavers wrought into plaidings, blankets, and hodden gray (that is, coarse undyed cloth from wool in its natural colour). There were also considerable villages and towns where the weavers wrought goods which got a special fame for their district—"Glasgow plaidings," "Aberdeen fingrams," "Kilmarnocks," "Musselburgh stuffs" from which at 4½d. a yard ladies' dresses were made,—and Edinburgh had weavers in many a wynd making fine shalloons.[2] But this was a branch of industry in which Scotland could not compete with England, which made finer fabrics than the rude Scots stuffs. Accordingly, gentlemen had to dress in their rough home woollen stuffs, for their narrow incomes could ill afford to buy the English broadcloth, which cost from 6s. to 7s. a yard.[3] In vain every effort was made to encourage the industry. The law even forbade the exportation of wool, and enacted from 1705 that all bodies should henceforth be buried wrapped in woollen cloth; but English goods now crossed the border and swamped the native products.

The beneficial results of the Union were slow of being felt, and for some twenty years the people saw less of the ad-

[1] Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, iii. pp. 347, 596; Bruce's *Report on Events and Circumstances which produced the Union, from State Papers*, 1799, p. 396.

[2] *Interest of Scotland Considered*, 1737 [by Patrick Lindsay].

[3] *Account Books of Sir J. Foulis of Ravelston* (Scot. Hist. Society).

vantages than of the hardships it entailed—heavier taxes, more duties, vexatious restrictions, and dangerous competition with the trade of England, and a lost trade with France. The lack of employment for men was a constant cause of lamentation, agriculture remained dormant, handicrafts were rude and few, trade and commerce were still meagre. Writers up to 1737 complain that great numbers of young men were forced to seek employment[1] in the Plantations; that many, availing themselves of an easily learned and overstocked calling, became tailors, and left the country seeking work; others, again, became gardeners,[2] in which business they showed peculiar skill, and left Scotland, where gardens were few and poor, for England, where they abounded. One outlet for their energies, however, they markedly ignored—that was the Army. The prejudice against it among the rural poor was inveterate during the century. Not yet had patriotic glamour been thrown over Scots regiments by brilliant achievements; the people cared nothing for wars abroad, and were as indifferent about the victories under Marlborough as they were later to defeats under Cumberland. If a son enlisted it was felt as a family disgrace, and to get him out was the struggle of family honour.[3] The surplus farming class had nowhere to seek work at home when there were few trades to learn and few factories to enter. The beggars, meanwhile, swarmed in the streets of every town, and made prowling visits to every village, and neither sought for work nor could find it if they had.

[1] *Reasons for Improving the Fisheries and Linen Manufacture of Scotland*, 1727; *Interest of Scotland Considered*, 1733, p. 128.

[2] "I think the gardens [of the Scottish nobility and gentry] are not comparable to those of England, a circumstance all the more remarkable, as I was told by the ingenious Mr. Philip Miller of Chelsea that almost all the gardeners of South Britain were natives of Scotland."—Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker*.

[3] Dugal Graham's *Collected Works*, i. 160. In 1790 the minister of Holywood naïvely writes regarding the morals of his parishioners:—"It may be observed that during the time of the present incumbent, which is nineteen years, only one person has been banished for theft and one enlisted as a soldier. The last, having been got out of the Army, has ever since lived in the parish an industrious labouring man."—*Stat. Acct.*, Scotland, i. 25.

III

We may by 1730, however, see the stirring of a new life in the country, the gradual awakening of the community from its long lethargy, for by that time the linen industry was felt to be a source of prosperity owing to its trade with England. On every farm, minister's glebe, and near every laird's house, a parcel of ground was devoted to growing flax, and making yarn became an increasing occupation in every household and village. While ladies and their maids spun for the home, the poor spun for the market. In county towns the master weaver had his six-loomed shop adjoining his cottage, and while he plied his own loom his journeymen wrought at the others, for which they paid a weekly rent. He called at houses of gentry, farms, and peasants, to buy their yarn, which he and his men wove into checks or sheeting. The webster bartered his stuff, when bleached and finished, at the doors of his customers for more home-made yarn, carrying on his own or his pony's back loads of tempting webs to exchange by stiff bargains, or with pawky cajolery, for the thread. The village weavers, who lived by what was called "customer wark" (that is, making up cloth for their customers from their home-made wool or linen yarn), were notable personalities and characteristic figures in old Scots rural and burghal life, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, poor and superannuated, they with a sigh disappeared on the advent of the machinery and factories of a new age.

Linen manufacture began to be carried on in several towns, and Glasgow from 1725 was busy making lawn and cambric. Meanwhile Paisley made a bound into industrial activity, owing to the enterprise and ingenuity of ladies of the house of Bargarran. Christian Shaw, daughter of the laird of Bargarran, had in 1697 created vast excitement and soul-searching among the ministers and people of Renfrewshire by professing to be under diabolical machinations; a prosecution for witchcraft ensued, resulting in the burning of five unhappy women whom the girl had charged with bewitching her, and another victim escaping this fate by strangling himself in the

jail. Years passed by, and this hysterical girl became the astute wife of the minister of Kilmaurs. Shrewd, practical, and having remarkable dexterity in spinning fine yarn, she began to manufacture thread. At first every part of the process was done by her own hands. She bleached her materials on a slate at the windows of Bargarran House. Encouraged by success, her sisters and mother helped in the operations, friends took the thread and sold it to customers, and Lady Blantyre carried a quantity of it to Bath, and there disposed of it to lace manufacturers.[1] It was about 1725 that a person connected with the family happened to be in Holland, and there discovered the secret of making fine thread, as well as the art of sorting it, of packing it for sale, of constructing and managing twisting and turning machines. This information being got by Christian Shaw (Mrs. Millar), she quickly turned it to good account. Young women in the neighbourhood by her instructions learned to spin fine yarn, turning machines were erected, and the business rapidly progressed. In the newspapers of 1725 appeared one announcement more interesting than the usual "intelligence" in their barren columns: "The Lady Bargarran and her daughters having attained to a great perfection in making, whitening, and twisting of sewing Threed, which is cheap and white, and known by experience to be much stronger than the Dutch, to prevent people being imposed upon by other threed which may be sold under the name of Bargarran Threed, the papers in which the Lady Bargarran and her daughters at Balgarran, and Mrs. Millar, her elder daughter at Johnstone, do put up their threed shall for direction have thereupon the above coat of arms [here was printed the family arms]. Those who want the said Threed, which is sold from fivepence to six shillings per ounce," may write to the Lady Bargarran, to Mrs. Millar, or to certain merchants in Parliament Close, Edinburgh, or the Trongate, Glasgow.[2] In the course of a year or two the secret of the processes leaked out, and quickly other factories were founded. A new and profitable industry had been started; the town, increasing in population, became full of enterprise

[1] *Stat. Acct. of Scotland*, viii. 232; ix. 75; Brown's *Hist. of Paisley*.

[2] Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, iii. 510.

and activity; and as the folk listened to the new bell in the steeple, according to popular saying, it seemed to ring out, "Spin flax and tow, spin flax and tow." Yet even in 1735 these tradesmen had modest fortunes and simple ways. Setting forth every year on horseback with swatches of their goods in packs or in their wallets, trudging along on the roads to the north of England, they sold their wares and procured orders from customers at fairs and markets.[1]

The enterprise of another lady in the east country had by this time introduced another improvement destined to affect greatly the national industry. The wife of Henry Fletcher, brother of the famous Andrew of Salton, was deeply interested in the making of linen, for she was anxious to widen her own narrow fortunes. It is told that, travelling in Holland with two local mechanics disguised as men-servants, she got access on some pretext to a Dutch factory, watched the looms as they plied, discovered the processes; and on her return home the mechanics copied the machinery and set up the apparatus at her farm near Salton.[2] In a short while Mrs. Fletcher made the first Holland linen ever produced in the kingdom, and soon the industry grew apace. Hitherto this fine fabric could only be imported at 6s. an ell, over which the thrifty gentry groaned, for the younger generation, despising the coarse home stuff costing 2s. which was worn by their fathers and mothers, were insisting on wearing costly Hollands. This enterprise of Mrs. Fletcher came as a timely boon to an impecunious age, for it brought the price down to the level of frugal incomes.

After all, it cannot be said that the people were extremely inventive; but they made up for the want of originality by readiness to adopt the inventions of other people. It was in Holland they sought and gained their improvements in art and machinery, and, with little expenditure of wit or money, picked the brains of other nations. There Meikle had got his fanners and his mills for pot barley; there Mrs. Millar learned how

[1] By 1740 there were 600,000 yards woven annually to the value of £40,000, an amount doubled forty years later.—Hector's *Judicial Records of Renfrewshire.*

[2] *Agriculture of East Lothian,* by G. Hepburn; Fraser's *Hist. of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk,* ii. 278.

to make fine thread, and Mrs. Fletcher to weave Hollands; and there in 1735 Harvey of Glasgow had wormed out the secret of incle or tape manufacturing, smuggling home two looms and a workman from Haarlem, which proved a source of fortune to himself and prosperity to Glasgow. By 1727 the Board of Trustees were, in tardy fulfilment of terms of Union, distributing funds for promoting various industries, and gave grants to schools for teaching spinning, and premiums for every acre of bleachfields constructed; French weavers were brought from St. Quentin to Edinburgh, and settled on a piece of ground for bleaching, where the wives and daughters spun the thread and the men taught cambric weaving,[1] on the place called from them Little Picardy, now surviving as Picardy Place. Nobles and merchants, headed by the Duke of Argyle, formed a company for trading in all branches of linen culture, with a capital of £100,000; they imported flax, lint, seed, and potash, sold it to manufacturers and farmers, and bought the yarn produced at a fair price. They formed bleachfields, the stuff having hitherto chiefly been sent to Holland for whitening, and they advanced money to traders. In a few years this company, so patriotically founded, gave up directly fostering the linen factories, and restricted itself to lending money, being chartered in 1747 by that name which still indicates its origin—the British Linen Company Bank.[2]

Linen was now a national industry. "I remember," says Miss Mure of Caldwell, "in the year 1730 or 1731 of a ball, when it was agreed that the company should be dressed in nothing but what was manufactured in the country; my sisters were as well dressed as any, and their gowns were stripped linen at 2s. 6d. a yard, their head-dresses and ruffles were of Paisley muslins[3] at 4s. 6d., with fourpenny edging from Hamilton, all the best that could be had." Linen spinning

[1] Arnot's *Hist. of Edinburgh*, 592; Chambers's *Walks in Edinburgh*, p. 217; Bremner's *Industries of Scotland*.

[2] Kerr's *Hist. of Scot. Banking*.

[3] *Caldwell Papers*, ii. 163. "Muslin" was a name often given to fine linen fabric long before muslin from cotton was made in Scotland. "We also do make already a very good muslin of our own produce."—*Letters to an M.P. occasioned by Poverty of the Nation*, Edin., 1700.

and weaving was now carried out in twenty-five counties more or less, and suddenly there sprang up new life in every district; the old rock and reel were being discarded by 1735 for the spinning-wheels in the Lowlands, though in the Highlands the women long retained stoutly their rock or distaff, and it required the utmost tact to induce Cromarty women about 1750 to give up their implements.[1] The whirr of the little wheel and the big wheel, and the "rick-tack" of looms were then heard in little villages where busy handicrafts have long ceased, and in clachans where only a few ruined walls remain to-day to tell of homes once full of thrifty life. In all quarters from the Orkneys to Galloway this industry was carried on. Forfarshire, dull and inert before, where weavers did only "customers' work," became full of activity, and spindles and looms were everywhere busy; Montrose, Arbroath, and Dundee were making and largely exporting hemp and linen fabrics. No longer were the patches of flax sown in fields by farmer and laird enough for all demand, and in great quantities they were brought from the Baltic to supply materials for increasing manufactures.[2]

From 1740 onwards the signs of growing prosperity can be marked in the history of country towns. New trades sprang up, new occupations were formed. Goods which had formerly been imported from England or the Continent then began to be made in Edinburgh and many a country town. Coaches had all been brought from abroad, and fine furniture from England; but upholsterers and coach-builders opened their yards[3] as the gentry increased in income from the larger

[1] "The smaller spinning-wheel fitted for flax created opposition with the Highland woman, and coming into use about 1746, they spoke of it as the bad era when little wheels and red soldiers (wearing no tartan) were introduced into the country."—Mrs. Grant's *Superstitions of the Highlands*, i. 125. Forsyth, merchant in Cromarty, made it a condition with all he employed that at least one wheel should be introduced into every family; he hired spinners to teach it, and in ten years the distaff and spindle disappeared. Still used in some parts of Highlands.—Hugh Miller's *Scotch Merchant of Eighteenth Century.*

[2] The whole quantity of linen made in 1710 is estimated at 1,500,000 yards. In 1728 the stamped linen (for exportation) was 2,183,978 yards at value of £103,312; in 1775 it had risen to 12,139,683 yards, valued at £561,527.—Warden's *Linen Trade*, p. 432.

[3] Arnot's *Hist. of Edin.* 599.

rents of their lands. Establishments for production of delf and China-ware were founded in Leith and Glasgow as pewter plates followed their timber predecessors into disuse. Slate quarries[1] were opened and gave occupation to great numbers, as new mansions were built, as the thatch was removed with its vast populations of rats from church and manse, from farmhouse and village street. Granite had not been wrought and little used in Caithness or Aberdeenshire; but after fires destroyed wood-faced houses with roofs of heather and straw in 1741 in Aberdeen, granite was used to build better houses in the city.[2] Other trades sprang up as old customs passed away. As home brewing died out it gave place to public breweries;[3] as pewter stoups made way for green bottles, and pewter and silver mugs for glasses, glass-blowing rose to an active industry; as the homely oatmeal and barley no longer satisfied a more fastidious period, and wheat was cultivated and wheat bread became common, bakers were to be found in every country village; and when, with improved agriculture, it ceased to be necessary to kill the mart in November, and live on salt meat half the year, "fleshers" settled in the smallest town, where before the middle of the century neither baxter nor butcher could have had a customer. Carpets, hitherto seen only in a few large houses, came into general use in more prosperous days, and carpet weaving was begun in Hawick in 1760, and in Kilmarnock took the place of making blue bonnets.

IV

Among the many causes of growing prosperity must not be omitted the help given by the banking companies to commercial enterprise. Long before the establishment of the Bank of Scotland in 1695 banking had been carried on by shop-

[1] Bremner's *Industries of Scotland.*

[2] Kennedy's *Annals of Aberdeen*, i. 294.

[3] *Glasgow Past and Present*, ii. 174. Even in 1763 there seems to have been in Inverness only one baker, and not a good one, for the treasurer of the Town Council enters in his book: "By cash paid Simon Fraser for going to Edinburgh to improve, £60 (Scots)." In 1740 the magistrates advertised for a saddler to settle amongst them.—Carruthers' *Highland Note-Book*, p. 44.

keepers and merchants, who combined the occupation of buying and selling cloth, shipping wine and tallow, with that of lending money to customers and negotiating bills. Most of them were settled in Edinburgh, though country shopkeepers also engaged in the business. In flats off the various wynds of High Street they had their warerooms, which were parts also of their dwelling-houses, where they sold goods and lent money at five per cent.[1]

In 1695 the Bank of Scotland was founded, and its issue of paper money, first for £5 and afterwards for £1 (or rather £12) Scots, proved an immeasurable boon to a community which was at its wit's end to find sufficient coins to change for ten shillings. It enjoyed a pleasant monopoly till, in 1727, the Royal Bank began a career of eager rivalry. The "Auld Bank" favoured by the Whigs, and the "New Bank" patronised by the Tories, were full of hostility; they collected each other's notes, presenting bundles of them at each other's counter, demanding that they should be paid on sight, in hopes of producing a stoppage of each other's business. Learning, however, by experience the power of its enemy, the "Auld Bank" adopted a plan which had no little effect upon mercantile interests. In 1730 it issued its notes "payable on demand, or with five per cent interest six months after being presented for payment at the option of the Bank." By this expedient, which its rival in later years itself adopted, it effectively secured itself from awkward surprises and sudden runs on its empty coffers.[2]

Several shopkeeper-merchants still continued their old occupation of lending money and negotiating bills. Most eminent of them was the firm of John Coutts and Company, original of the great banking firm in London, and that of Sir William Forbes in Edinburgh. It was located in a second flat of five rooms in President's Close, which served at once as banking-office, wareroom for wine and cloth, and dwelling-house for successive generations of the Coutts family.[3] Other

[1] Forbes' *Memoirs of a Banking House.*

[2] Kerr's *Hist. of Scot. Banking;* W. Graham's *£1 Note.*

[3] Forbes' *Memoirs*, pp. 9, 14. Cochran, partner of Coutts' Bank and brother-in-law of Coutts, was a man of good family and high social position, a draper in a flat in the Luckenbooths. Mansfield and Cuming, founders of eminent bank-

merchants, drapers, clothiers, corn traders, living in dingy shops up narrow, dirty, turnpike stairs, also engaged in lending money and receiving deposits. At the Cross in the High Street, between two and three in the afternoons, when citizens congregated, these gentlemen met their customers, discussed the commissions in serges, silks, and claret, and on adjourning to the taverns, which served as business places, instead of their little, overcrowded rooms, they arranged terms of a loan over a pint of claret or a gill of brandy.

It was, however, the paper issue of the two rival banks that rendered most obvious service. Coin was rare, and notes now became a medium of business, thereby making trade on a large scale possible when gold was never seen and silver difficult to be got; and people in time wondered how they had lived when they had no paper money to use,[1]—for the specie left the country to pay for the imports, which far exceeded the goods exported.

We have noted how, from about the year 1740, the industrial and commercial prosperity of the country was beginning to develop rapidly, and natural lethargy passed to wide-spread activity; but prosperity was hampered by want of coin and currency.[2] Even after 1750 gold was practically unattainable, silver was hard to get, and the supply of copper money was uncomfortably scanty. Tradesmen had difficulty in getting coins wherewith to pay their wages, and shopkeepers to get change of 10s. for their customers. In northern counties lairds in their dearth of money paid their tradesmen

ing firms, began trade, the one as a draper the other as a clothier, in shops up in flats which they turned to counting-houses when they gave up selling stuffs for dealing with bills of exchange.

[1] An entry in Wodrow's *Analecta*, iii. 461, referring to 1727, previous to the opening of the Royal Bank, shows how dependent the community was on paper currency: "The Neu Bank is not to be opened for some time, and some say are not to give out money for twelve moneths. The Old Bank are very cautious, and lends out no money nou, which has raised a terrible scarcity of money and is a great hindrance to bussines. Thus from reall want of money and the clashing interests of our two banks there never was such a complaint as nou for scarsity of money."

[2] Forbes of Culloden complains of the scarcity of coin, which he ascribes to the "exportation of bullion for tea, coffee, and foreign spirits." "Paper money is the only coin one sees, and even it is far from being in tolerable plenty."—*Culloden Papers*, i. 188.

in kind, and settled yearly accounts with a few bolls of barley, or a few stones of flax and wool.[1] To meet this emergency small banking companies issued notes for 5s. and 2s. 6d., which went rapidly into circulation. Tradesmen and shopkeepers followed their example, and with reckless prodigality issued paper for sums varying from 5s. sterling to 1s. Scots. Even coffee-houses issued paper money, payable at option, six months after presentation, for food and drink. Most elaborate notes came from the mason-barrowmen of Edinburgh, promising to pay the bearer 1s. Scots (1d. sterling) on demand, or six months after being presented, with due legal interest.[2] In Perth, in 1764, no fewer than six banking establishments had their issues of "optional" notes for 2s. 6d.—and these, too, respectable solid businesses, which were finally merged into the Union Bank of Scotland. Little weaving towns, hardly superior to villages, such as Auchtermuchty, had companies issuing notes for tiny sums to be given as equivalents for goods and wages, and agents attended the country fairs and disposed of their bits of paper, which were accepted with guileless confidence.[3] All this resulted in making coin scarcer still. Meetings were held by gentlemen in 1760, when they lamented the deficiency of bullion, declaring that to change a five shilling piece was a matter of grave difficulty; but they did not decide whether metal disappeared because of over-issue of paper, or whether the issue of paper money was due to under-supply of metal.[4] In 1765 Parliament prohibited the issue of notes with an optional clause, or any notes for sums of

[1] H. Miller's *Scotch Merchant of Eighteenth Century.*

[2] Kerr's *Hist. of Banking;* Graham's *£1 Note*, p. 61. In Glasgow there were even notes, issued with all the formality and form of a great bank, for 3d. sterling, to be paid by "9 ballads, 6 days after demand"; and other notes for one penny, with proportionate quantity of songs, which were used, adopted "by ballad singers and beggars in the streets."—*Scots Antiquary*, ii. 72.

[3] In Yorkshire also there were paper currencies for sums so low as sixpence, the payment of which sometimes depended on the condition that the holder of the note brought the change for a guinea to the person that issued it.—Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, bk. ii. chap. ii.

[4] Hume's *Essays*, i. 319, Edin. 1793. To use of paper currency David Hume attributes the disappearance of precious metal from Scotland, estimating in 1752 the specie in the country as at a half of what existed at the time of the Union (which he places, erroneously, as high as a million). "About a third," says Smith's *Wealth of Nations.*

less value than £1, and thereafter sheaves of paper that had fallen, thick as the leaves of Vallambrosa, on the country passed into oblivion.

Not till banks or branches were established in various country towns was the full benefit of banks felt by the people. Till that happened the farmer kept his money in his house till term time came, to pay his rent, and a weaver would give his savings to some shopkeeper who gave him interest, but very bad security. Yet any attempt to set up a company in any other town caused the great banks to unite to crush it, and the rivals in Edinburgh combined in fraternal zeal to destroy every other intruder on their business in a provincial town. By efforts which had been successful in Aberdeen, they sought to destroy the Glasgow Arms Bank, which merchants had formed. Here, however, they signally failed,[1] and, as it is the only humorous incident of this Scottish finance, it may be recorded here. An utterly respectable, deeply religious, but rather dull gentleman, Mr. Trotter—who had been a partner in Coutts,—was sent in 1756 to act as the agent for the Edinburgh banks on this inglorious project. He collected industriously large quantities of the notes of the "Glasgow Arms" Bank, and then he presented them with a sardonic air of triumph, and demanded that they should at once be cashed. By the end of thirty-four days he had only got £2893, and yet the bank did not stop payment.[2] Day by day the melancholy and irritated figure appeared with his bag and offered his paper, which was received in a manner which his own narrative best tells, with characteristic lack of appreciation of the humour of the situation:—"When these notes were presented at the office for payment, a bag of sixpences was with great deliberation produced and laid on the table. The teller then proceeded with ridiculous slowness to open up the bag to count the money. He would first tell over a pound sterling in single sixpences ranked upon the table, and affecting to be uncertain about the reckoning, he would gather the small money and count it over again from one hand to another, sometimes letting fall a sixpence for a pretence to

[1] Kerr's *Hist. of Scot. Banking.*
[2] Forbes' *Memoirs of Banking House.*

begin anew and count it over again. On another occasion he would take time by ridiculous discourses upon the odd design and shape of particular sixpences; sound another on the table to try if it was sufficient coin; and sometimes he would quit his occupation on pretence of some sudden errand or call out of the room. Very often they employed one Coghill, by his ordinary occupation a porter, to act as teller, and he lost time and blundered with great alacrity, being instructed to do the same." In vain Mr. Trotter appeared with a notary and witnesses to confound the officials: the usual dilatory proceedings were repeated. The moment five o'clock struck, they were extruded, and he protests some claimants were threatened, called "scoundrels," and even beaten. After tedious delay the agent retreated, weary and defeated, and although the bank had to pay compensation to the baffled man, from that time private banks were left unmolested, while they learned the wholesome lesson to have more specie in their tills to meet demands.

By this time in Edinburgh the old clothiers and merchants who had started banking gave up selling wares, and formed rich and prosperous companies; in country towns, about 1760 branches were set up for the great encouragement of agriculture; landlords got money to improve their land; farmers got places to deposit their savings; shopkeepers got paper money when coin was rare. One unlucky venture was made by gentlemen to increase their incomes, when expensive living was the fashion of the day. A hundred and forty nobles, gentry, lawyers, and merchants formed a banking company in Ayr, known as Douglas, Heron, and Co., which began business with a limited capital of £95,000, and unlimited confidence in itself. Money or notes were freely given to all who appeared with bills in their hands. No struggling tradesman was rebuffed, no embarrassed tenant was refused credit, and customers were amazed at the bankers' affability and amused at their own success.[1] Everything seemed prosperous with the Ayr Company, its proprietors being under the pleasing delusion of Mr. Micawber that every promissory note given was a payment made.

One day in 1772, however, a horseman came from London, with the news that Mr. Alexander Fordyce had dis-

[1] *Memoirs of Banking House;* Kerr's *Hist. of Scot. Banks.*

appeared, and by the speculations and frauds of this most plausible gentleman—who had married Lady Margaret Lindsay, sister of the author of "Auld Robin Gray"—his firm of Ruffy, Neale, and Company was bankrupt. Transactions with Scotland having been great, all except two private banks in Edinburgh failed—and hundreds of gentlemen and merchants were involved in ruin. The Ayr Bank, with vast liabilities, also fell insolvent. The effects of the calamity of that 12th of June—known as "Black Monday"—were disastrous to men of all ranks; landowners involved in the Ayr Bank were impoverished—their old ancestral acres passed to new men; shareholders were paying up calls during the remainder of their lives; and some families did not get their accounts closed for sixty years after that fatal Monday.[1]

V

While textile arts and useful industries were advancing with the times, some other employments which were also affected by social habits were undergoing changes. Till 1750 the popular beverage was ale, or "twopenny," from its costing twopence a Scotch pint—equal to two English quarts. It had been made in every farm, manse, and mansion, drunk in the dining-room and in the change-house. In 1725 Parliament, however, enforced an impost, which had been thitherto evaded, of 6d. on every bushel of malt. At this tyrannical interference with their favourite drink the people arose in wild indignation. The Jacobites adroitly raised the cry, "No Union, no malt tax, no salt tax!" There were fierce riots in Glasgow, which cost the city dear for sacking the mansion of their member of Parliament, Campbell of Shawfield, who had voted for the tax. Edinburgh brewers refused to brew so long as the hateful impost lasted, thus promising to deprive all citizens of their drink and bakers of the yeast to make the daily bread, and only sulkily complied when the Court of Session threatened them with imprisonment.[2]

Although the tax was made only 3d. a bushel of malt, the

[1] *Memoirs of Banking House*, p. 42.

[2] Arnot's *Hist. of Edinburgh*; Omond's *Lives of Lord Advocates*, i. 335.

rapid decrease in producing ale and home-brewing is attributed to this impost; and certainly from that year the brewing of "twopenny" steadily declined, effectively to make way for the more potent drink of whisky, which was then almost unknown.

As the demand for ale decreased, what drink was taking its place in a much-imbibing age? It was chiefly smuggled spirits. From Holland, and France, and Spain luggers brought their contraband cargoes of wine, tea, cambric, and brandy. No crime was so respectable as "fair trading"; none was so widely spread. Along the quiet bays of the Solway, into caves under the rocky cliffs of Forfarshire, to remote lochs of Ross-shire, and even to the open shores of Fife, boats came with fine impunity and perfect confidence. Bakers, shoemakers and farmers, schoolmasters and fishermen, and lairds, were interested in a traffic in which they all had shares and reaped rich profits. Gentlemen holding high position in the country and offices of justices of the peace joined the smugglers in their ventures of running in the cargoes, while excisemen were hopelessly baffled.[1]

The signal of a white sheet or shirt out to dry on thatched roofs or corn-stacks was the reassuring sign by day, and bonfires on cliffs were timely warnings at night. So soon as news arrived of a lugger in the offing, all in silent confederacy—men, women, and children—prepared to help in the unloading. The kirk was poorly attended on the Fast day if confidential tidings arrived.[2] In records of Kirk-Sessions occur frequent penalties on offenders who on a Fast day, ere twelve o'clock had struck, yoked their horses to convey the goods run in; but the discipline was not so much because they had broken the law, as because they had broken the Fast. The General Assembly might issue stern comminations on the demoralising traffic, which were read from the pulpits: not merely by magistrates

[1] The fury excited in the famous Porteous Mob of 1738 originated in sympathy with Wilson the smuggler, who was hanged for plundering the custom-house at Pittenweem in retaliation on the excisemen. For the interest and share taken by county magnates and magistrates in contraband trade, see Dunbar's *Social Life in Morayshire.*

[2] Pratt's *Buchan*, p. 27; Wood's *East Neuk of Fife*, p. 320, *et seq.*; *Stat. Acct. of Scot.*; Agnew's *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway.*

was it winked at, but sometimes by ministers too. When the communion was at hand, and the minister had his elders and brethren to entertain, a mysterious anker of brandy might arrive at the manse, of which the clerical party drank gratefully, asking no questions—for conscience' sake. It even happened that in the far North smuggled goods were deposited occasionally in a kirk for safety, but with whose cognisance is not certain.[1] It is significant of the public feeling that the eminently respectable firm of Coutts and Co. of Edinburgh, bankers and traders, had one member of the house a partner in a firm at Rotterdam,[2] whose chief business consisted in furnishing goods for the smugglers who ran their cargoes on the north and east coasts of Scotland; and it was only after big profits had been made that Coutts was withdrawn from a line of business which ruffled the growing conscience of a most prosperous and honourable company. In the south counties were corporations of these smugglers who, as cover, took farms, and farmed them admirably, to the great benefit of agriculture. In Dundonald parish church was the gallery known as the "smugglers' loft," where these traders sat on Sunday, with their wives gay in silks, highly respected by all the worshippers.[3]

In all transactions the "free trader" was a hero; to "jink the gauger" was an honourable exploit. If custom officers tried to search they found the country people in hundreds ready to oppose them, and before they could carry off a captured cargo a detachment of soldiers was required to support them.[4]

Smuggling was carried on more largely in Scotland than in England, for the Scots fair-traders were satisfied with far smaller profits, and it was executed with more security, as the

[1] "It is a shame that the clergy in the Shetland and Orkney Isles should so often wink at their churches being made depositories of smuggled goods, chiefly foreign spirits."—Hall's *Travels in Scot.* 1807, ii. 517.

[2] Forbes' *Memoirs of a Banking House.*

[3] Rogers' *Social Life in Scotland.* Illicit distillers were as much respected as smugglers, and equally unconscious of any heinousness. "I alloo nae sweerin' in the still, everything's dune decently and in order. I canna see ony harm in't," replied an estimable transgressor of the law in answer to his minister's remonstrances.—Story's *Life of Story of Roseneath*, p. 49.

[4] *Considerations on Present State of Scotland*, 1743 [by Forbes of Culloden].

people helped and encouraged them in resisting customs that were imposed by the English. A vast deal of harm was done by this illicit trade to the inhabitants of the sea-coast—it encouraged a spirit of gambling in their life, it demoralised their tone, it discouraged all active, steady pursuit among those who might have lived by honest fishing in the sea or working on the land.[1] But still the trade went on. In vain the Church[2] denounced it; and also in vain town councils and country gentlemen in several districts of ill repute bound themselves in meetings assembled to discourage with all their strength the equally hurtful "prevalence of smuggling and tea drinking," for not a third of the tea imported had ever passed a custom-house.[3] It was not till 1806 that enactments against smuggling foreign spirits and the lowering of the duty began to crush a demoralising trade, which had in many places spoiled the industrial life of small towns, like those on the Solway, which were reduced to hopeless inactivity.

During this time whisky was becoming a well-known and common drink, and distilling became a prosperous business. Little used in the Lowlands till 1750, it had long been much in vogue in the Highlands, where it was made in stills in the glens and drunk by persons of all classes.[4] Best known of all was the "Ferintosh" of Forbes of Culloden, which paid no duty, was sold cheap, and was so much drunk that "Ferintosh" became a synonym for whisky.[5] In 1708 there were 50,800 gallons known to have been produced, but fifty

[1] On the Solway at the close of the century there was no trade, no industry, in the decaying towns and villages. "How in the name of wonder do you get subsistence?" asked the traveller in 1780. "We smuggle a little," was the reply.—Knox's *British Empire*, ii. 538.

[2] General Assembly issued solemn exhortations against running goods in 1719, 1736, and 1744.—Morren's *Annals of Assembly*; *Culloden Papers*, i. 90.

[3] *Ante*, i. 11; Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, iv. 49.

[4] Burt's *Letters*, i. 158. Consumption of ale diminished as whisky came into fashion: 1708, 51,000 gallons of whisky distilled; in 1787, 300,000 gallons crossed the Border alone without paying excise. In 1708, 288,000 barrels of twopenny brewed; in 1784, 9700 barrels brewed.—Cramond's *Drinks of Scotland*.

[5] Whisky in 1700 was 10d. a quart, in 1790 it was 1s. 8d. and bad.—Cramond's *Drinks of Scotland*. In 1695, Scots Parliament, in requital for damages suffered by Forbes of Culloden's estates from king's enemies, granted privilege of distilling grain on Ferintosh land free of duty. Privilege withdrawn in 1784 with compensation of £21,580.—Chambers' *Life and Works of*

years later the amount had increased to 433,800 gallons, which paid duty—what was the quantity that the exciseman never saw it is impossible to guess, for there were stills in every far-off strath where the gauger dared not venture and the king's writ did not run. In many a wild district whisky was made with impunity—lairds, bailies, justices of the peace being the best patrons of spirits, far pleasanter and milder than honest liquor. Illicit stills increased apace,—in Glenlivet alone there were no fewer than 200 at work,—the kegs and bladders passing freely on the backs of ponies to remote lochs where the vessel was waiting for its freight. Year by year the use of whisky grew—in Edinburgh alone, in 1778, 400 unlicensed stills were busy, while only eight distilleries were licensed, and there were no fewer than 2000 houses, licensed and unlicensed, for retailing spirits to a town of 75,000 inhabitants. Drink of every kind evidently was secure of copious customers, for the number of ale-houses was enormous—in country villages in the proportion of one to every seventy of the population.[1]

VI

Let us turn now to another type of industrial society—to workers in the collieries and mines, with whom existed peculiar modes of life and labour. The production of coal was carried on in few parts of the country up to 1750, for the demand was limited owing to the use of peat in most

Burns, i. 202. It was the deprivation of whisky free of duty which called forth Burns's lament—

> Thee Ferintosh! oh, sadly lost,
> Scotland laments frae coast to coast!
> Now colic grips and barkin' hoast
> May kill us a',
> For loyal Forbes's chartered boast
> Is taen awa'!
>
> *Scotch Drink.*

[1] Arnot's *Hist. of Edin.* p. 335. As only 159 houses were licensed to retail foreign spirits, Arnot concludes that no fewer than 1852 houses provided liquor—chiefly whisky—for the lower classes. With a population of 3000 at end of century, St. Andrews had 42 ale-houses.—*Scotland described*, p. 28. Stirling had pop. of 5000, and 70 licensed houses.—*Stat. Acct.* i. 8. Dunbar, with pop. of 3800 in parish, had 46 ale-houses in the town.—*Stat. Acct.* Dunblane, with 2750 of pop. in parish, had 41 houses where ale and spirit retailed in the village, and other 11 throughout parish.—*Stat. Acct.* vii. 350.

country districts,—to the miserable condition of the roads, along which it was borne on backs of ponies, that carried two hundredweight at a time,—to the lack of industries, and imposition of the heavy taxes, which made it impossible to buy it in many parts of the country. The pits were few, the apparatus was of the clumsiest and crudest sort, and the means of raising water from the pits was of the most futile kind, being the old windmills, which were worthless when the air was calm. Not till 1750 were the "black stones" brought to the Cromarty Firth from Newcastle, the people being obliged to use dried dung when peat was exhausted.[1]

Hateful as coal labour everywhere was in those days, specially hateful was life to all engaged in Scotch coal-pits—colliers, coal hewers, and bearers. They lived in serfdom, compelled by law to labour their whole life without hope of freedom.[2] This was the condition also of all who worked in salt pans and of many in mines. If the land was sold they passed with the pit to the purchaser as part of his property. If the son or daughter of a collier or coal hewer once went to work he or she was "thirled" to it for life. If a workman ran away or gave his services to another coalmaster, he was accounted by an ingenious twist of the law a thief, and punished for having stolen himself, who was his master's property.[3] With such a miserable prospect before them, it seems marvellous that any salter or coal hewer should ever have permitted his children to enter such a service and endure such a thraldom. But servitude made them an hereditary caste aloof from the rest of the community; their narrow and

[1] Miller's *Scotch Merchant of Eighteenth Cent.* Till 1793 there was duty of 3s. 6d. a ton (when the price of coal shipped on the Forth was 4s. 10d. a ton) on all coals carried east ways beyond mouth of the Forth.—Bald's *View of the Coal Trade of Scot.*, 1808, p. 26; Macpherson's *Annals*, iv. 280.

[2] Enslaving colliers and salters as "necessary servants" traced to Act of Parliament 1606.—Erskine's *Institutes of Law of Scots.*

[3] "Some servants are reckoned and punished as thieves for stealing themselves and their services from their masters, as coal hewers, coal bearers, and salt makers, receiving wages and fees, who leave their master without a testimonial from him."—Forbes' *Institutes of Law of Scot.* 1730, p. 149. It was regarded as "false and wrongous arrest and imprisonment to put any person in custody in order to trial except coal hewers, salters, vagabonds, masterful beggars, disobedient to Church censures."—*Ibid.* p. 181.

isolated life dulled all ambition, killed all energy; and inured to this lot, like their fathers, they regarded it as inevitable for their children. There existed the strange practice of binding their infants over to the master at the time of baptism, in presence of the minister and neighbours as witnesses; and when a thriftless collier was in sore need of money to defray christening festivities, he often sold the freedom of his son to the employer, who gave arles or earnest money to the father, promising to provide his baby serf thereafter with a garden and house, and protection in sickness and age. From that hour the "arled" child was recognised as bound for life to the pit.

The compensation in this lot of slavery was that the master was obliged to keep his serfs all their days, in sickness and old age, and to supply a coffin for their burial. Their wages were not mean—being 1s. 1d. a day in early years of the century, and by 1763, according to Adam Smith, 2s. 6d. a day, when day labourers had from 8d. to 10d., and the earnings of free colliers at Newcastle were only 10d. or 1s. a day. But high wages could not make up for the stigma and burden of perpetual servitude.[1]

This extraordinary state of bondage, sanctioned by Scots law since 1606, there was no attempt to abolish till 1775,[2] when an Act was passed to emancipate all who after that date "shall begin to work as colliers and salters"; and all those already working who were under twenty-one years of age were to be set free in seven years, and those between twenty-one and thirty were to be liberated in ten years. This measure, however, brought help to few—the men were deep in debt to their masters, they were too dull-witted to institute puzzling proceedings before the sheriff, and very many continued in slavery all their days, unless they survived till 1799, when a

[1] Among the rules at Shotts in 1713 are weekly allowances to the collier of one or two pecks of meal when sick, at his marriage the payment of £5 : 16s. Scots, ten quarters of iron and deals, or a tree to make a bed; and at his death deals sufficient to make a coffin.—MS. of 1712 quoted in Grossart's *Hist. of Shotts*, p. 240; *Lectures* delivered in 1763 by Adam Smith, p. 100. In Fife-shire a collier could earn 18s. to 20s. a week.—*Stat. Acct. Scot.* iv. 371; Bald, p. 16.

[2] Cockburn's *Memorials*, p. 76; Bremner's *Industries of Scot.*

statute of tardy humanity gave unconditional freedom to all. But, though the monstrous law was abolished, it was long before there passed away the baneful effects of the old life in a race of men and women having visages of savage type, with natures mentally stunted, morally degraded, and physically brutalised through long generations[1] of miserable servitude and existence in hovels of dirt and wretchedness, as vile as the pits in which they toiled.

When emancipation came the difficulty arose to get enough hands to work those pits, for coal of which there was more and more demand, as towns developed, as iron-foundries were established, as steam machinery was set up in every factory. The old hands eagerly sought escape from their hated life to other labours, though the wages they got elsewhere were half of what they had earned of old; skilled hands were few and new hands were reluctant to take their uncoveted places.

VII

As the century drew near its close new influences were affecting Scots society, new industries were engrossing the people, new inventions were giving impetus to its trade. The trade of iron-founding got an impetus in 1760, when the Carron Iron Works, near Falkirk (to be famed for their pieces of ordnance, the "Carronades"), were set up, and employed a thousand hands. The Forth and Clyde Canal, in 1778, opened up internal traffic between east and west of the country. The invention of the steam engine by Watt was revolutionising all machinery, the spinning frame of Arkwright was bringing a new era of production, and Scotland felt everywhere the change. Calico print-fields had begun in 1742, and in 1772 calico manufactures were begun in Lanarkshire; muslin made in England for the first time in 1781 was next year made by

[1] Hugh Miller describes the collier women of Niddry, survivors of old days of servitude, as "marked by a peculiar type of mouth, from which I learned to distinguish them from all other females of the country. It was wide open, thick lipped, projecting equal above and below, and exactly resembled that which we find in prints of savages in their lowest and most brutalised state, in such narratives of our modern voyagers as, for instance, the narrative of Capt. Fitzroy's *Second Voyage of the Beagle*."

Menteith in Glasgow, and in triumph at his achievement he made a dress of this web to be presented to the Queen. In a year 1000 looms were at work in Glasgow with the cotton.[1] In combination with Sir Richard Arkwright, whose patent was used, David Dale set up great mills at Lanark in 1778, and soon the whole West Country was busy making thread, weaving cotton. In 1786, this manufacture ousted in Paisley the linen that had made the fortunes of a population risen from 2000 to 24,000, and even silk gauze, employing 5000 looms and 1000 weavers, became almost extinct in thirty years.

Formerly cotton gowns were not purchasable by women in humble circumstances, and only a cheap stuff consisting of cotton mixed with linen could be bought by them. The expiry of Arkwright's patent in 1786 set cotton manufacture free to develop. "Now," says Macpherson, writing in that year, "cotton is cheaper than linen yarn, and cotton goods are very much used in place of cambric. Women of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, are clothed in British manufactures of cotton from the muslin cap on the crown of the head to cotton stockings under the sole of the feet. With gentlemen cotton stuffs for waistcoats have almost superseded woollen cloth and silk stuff."[2]

The new occupation gave work to still larger masses of the population. Starving droves of Highlanders came south from impoverished crofts, and, not too heartily, worked in the factories; ploughmen left the fields for the mills, and farmers were forced to raise their wages to keep workers in their service. Hundreds of poor children were brought from Edinburgh to the mills of Lanark, where good David Dale took care of the training of their souls, but kept their bodies at toil from six in the morning till six at night with only one hour's interval for rest and food. There were 180,000 men,

[1] Cleland's *Rise and Progress of Glasgow*. When Bailie Jarvie in *Rob Roy* describes to Osbaldistone the riches of Scottish industry, especially in Glasgow, he only paraphrases the description Scott found in *Tour through Great Britain*, 1747 (iv. p. 124); but when he quits his authority the Bailie makes a blunder in adding, "we are making a fair spell in cotton and muslins,"—forty years before they were manufactured in Scotland.

[2] Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, 31.

women, and children in the West engaged in the operations connected with the working of cotton in 1796; while thousands of others, more or less directly, gained a livelihood from it. No longer was there any cry of poverty, any complaint of lack of work; poor people were attaining comfort, and many getting wealth; weavers who began life without a penny ended it with a fortune, and, born in a hovel, died in a mansion. Cotton bleach-fields, and turkey-red dyeing—set up in Glasgow by Mackintosh in 1785[1] through the skill of a dyer from Rouen—were adding to the industrial wealth of a city growing as rich by its exports as by its imports of tobacco, sugar, and cotton.

As the century drew to its close linen-making was abandoned for other industries in many districts; the neglected fisheries, eased of the salt duties, had been fostered, and fishermen were now eager after herring and cod, and women abandoned the spinning of flax for the curing of fish;[2] in many a Lowland village, as well as in the Orkneys, where they had long been a means of livelihood, spinning and weaving became almost forgotten arts.[3] Some industries lagged behind, while others were hastening on. Till after the middle of the century native iron had been little worked, blacksmiths being often supplied from Sweden, and in 1788 only 1500 tons were produced, little forecasting the gigantic future of that industry.[4] As yet there were no signs of the great tweed and cloth industries in Hawick, a little village busy with its hosiery; or in Galashiels, with its population of 600 chiefly engaged in making blankets at thirty looms,—a village so remote from the world that letters for it were left at a place seven miles away.[5]

[1] *Stat. Acct. Scot.*, vii. 387; xxi. 155; xx. 87; *Glasgow Past and Present*, i. 95; Struthers' *Hist. of Scotland*, ii. 627.

[2] Cleland's *Rise and Progress of Glasgow;* Macgeorge's *Old Glasgow.*

[3] Loch's *Essays;* Macpherson's *Annals*, iii. 595; Miller's *Scotch Merchant of the Eighteenth Century.*

[4] By 1796 there were seventeen furnaces in full blast in Lanarkshire, Ayr, and Fife, with an output of 18,600 tons.—Bremner's *Industries*, p. 130.

[5] *Stat. Acct. Scot.*, ii. 306. (This, Dr. Douglas, the minister and promoter of its trade, calls "manufacturing to a great extent.")—Wilson's *Hist. of Hawick.*

VIII

On comparing Scotland at the beginning of the century with what it was at the close, the contrast is startling,—a change from social stagnation to general energy, from abject poverty to wide-spread wealth. Villages had grown to towns, mean towns had developed to centres of industry, ports from which a few small vessels set sail with meagre cargoes of coarse home produce sent forth fleets of heavy burthen conveying merchandise to every shore.[1] One may realise the transformation by learning that by the end of the century the revenue had increased by fifty-one times since its beginning, while the population had only increased from about 1,100,000 to 1,600,000.[2]

Amid all these vast changes the social life was being strikingly affected. Quiet little country towns[3] were changing as the heather thatches which had covered cottage, shop, and manse, gave way to slate; as mean hovels became respectable abodes; as the earth-floored, dark, dirty apartments of "general dealers" in goods from tallow candles to cotton gowns—where everything was kept and nothing could be found—gave way to shops where each man sold his special wares. To many a retired village came workers from far-off counties, speaking with curious accents, at whom the natives wondered, to work at new cotton or flax mills, and soon simple out-of-the-world ways vanished. People, increasing in comfort and busy with industry, acquired a new independence of manner and thought, to which dissent was giving vigour; they no longer read their

[1] Shipping of Scotland employed in the foreign trade in 1700 consisted of 93 vessels with tonnage of 6000; in 1792, 718 vessels with tonnage of 84,000. —Chalmers' *Domestic Economy of Great Britain*, p. 390.

[2] In 1707 Excise revenue = £30,000, in 1797 = £1,293,084, in 1808 = £1,793,430.—Bruce's *Report*, p. 395. Shipping had grown in 1800 to 2015, with tonnage of 161,500, and employing 13,820 sailors.—Macculloch's *British Empire*, ii. 68. The population of Scotland estimated at 1,255,663 in 1755, at 1,514,999 in 1791, at 1,618,303 in 1801—which shows very rapid increase with growing industry.—Chalmers' *Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1812, p. 387.

[3] Of the changes in country towns and rural districts, as well as in social life, nowhere can be found such vivid and accurate pictures as in Galt's *Annals of a Parish*, *The Provost*, and *The Entail*.

Boston and chapbooks, but newspapers and vehement pamphlets. The old-fashioned, both Whig and Tory, feared the strange tone of off-hand freedom, and listened perplexedly to muttered political disquiet. There was dismay at dangerous opinions of French republicans passing among the working classes, and at the free-thinking of Tom Paine with his doctrine of the "Rights of Man," filling workrooms with cheap sedition, which fell from the fluent lips of confident shoemakers and weavers at their clubs. In the panic alarm every effort was made to stem the rising tide of democracy and infidelity. The clergy discountenanced Sunday schools—which the Haldanes and their followers were erecting to instil in infant minds more Gospel teaching than Moderate ministers could give—lest these too might become nurseries of sedition.[1] The Government prosecuted, and violent Tory judges sentenced remorselessly to transportation, honest enthusiasts for political reform, like Muir, Palmer, Margarot, and Gerald. But as the century passed away so did the rampant revolutionary talk. The ostentatious Jacobinism of weavers, proclaimed by every Demosthenes of the loom, became quieter as French orgies damned their cause; and steadier thoughts came back to the people.

Still did the country bear patiently its political servitude under the dictatorship of Henry Dundas, with no voice in its own Government.[2] Two thousand six hundred freeholders monopolised the political representation of thirty-three counties. Forty or sixty men, who were wheedled for their vote and rewarded with a hilarious banquet, chose their member for Parliament, while town councils appointed delegates who elected the fifteen members for burghs, having probably been bribed by promise of custom for their trade and desirable

[1] Cunningham's *Church History*, ii. 574; Kay's *Original Portraits*, ii. 357. The General Assembly in 1799 issued an angry pastoral condemning those "vagrant teachers" who set up Sunday schools without consent of the ministers and heritors, "committing the religious instruction of youth to ignorant persons notoriously disaffected to the civil constitution of the country," etc.

[2] *Arniston Memoirs;* Adams' *Political State of Scotland in* 1782. On an average there were eighty voters in each county; the numbers varying from 205 in Ayrshire and 93 in Edinburghshire to 43 in Linlithgowshire and 23 in Caithness.

posts for their sons.[1] In each burgh the municipal government was in the hands of bailies who met in secret conclaves, and not seldom disposed of public grounds for private ends, and they elected fellow-magistrates according to what was known as the "Beautiful order," which meant on condition that their nominees should obsequiously abide by the will of the majority; the same persons often kept office for twenty or thirty years, and handed down their offices to their sons, and gave the best jobs and the pick of the perquisites to their friends. Under such political and civic thraldom the people abided; but the growth of population and increased industrial energy at the end of the century tended inevitably to the abolition of old ways to meet the claims of a new and bolder age.

[1] *Arniston Memoirs*, p. 225; Cockburn's *Memorials*, chap. ii.; Galt's *Provost*.

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